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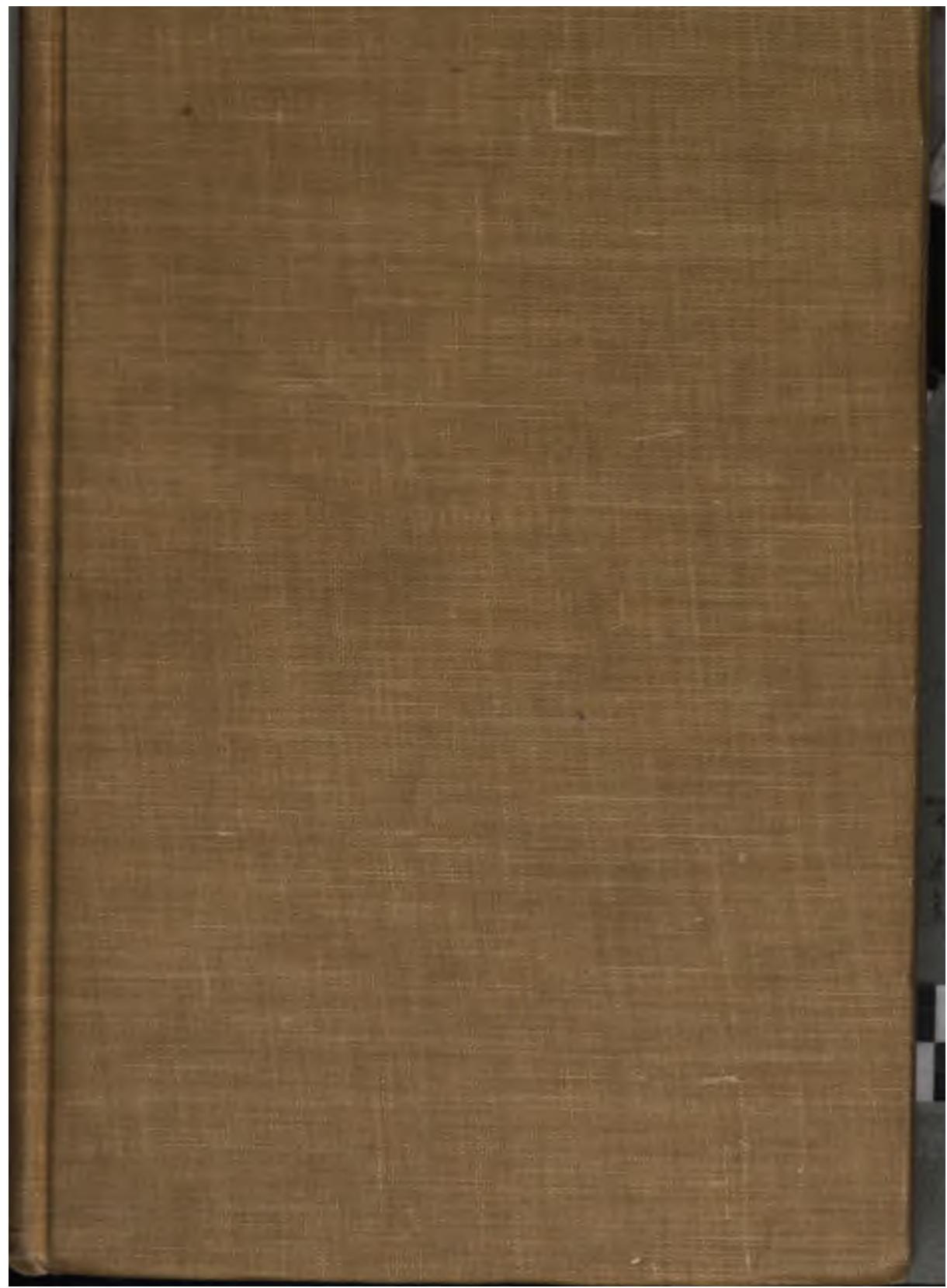
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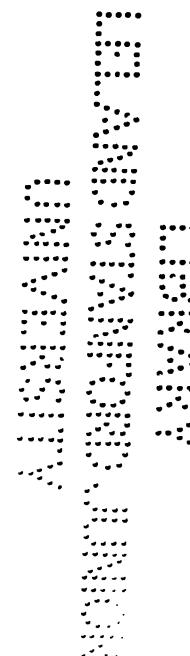
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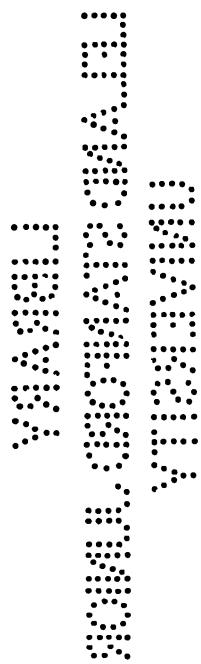
PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOSTON CONFERENCE FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT AND EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Held May 7, 8 and 9, 1902
at Boston, Mass.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, EDITOR



PHILADELPHIA
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE
1902



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PREFACE

This volume of the Proceedings of the Boston meeting of the National Municipal League is presented with unusual satisfaction. The range of topics, the breadth of view, the standing of the writers and the thoughtful consideration of the questions discussed are such as to make it one of signal value and importance.

The general concensus of those who attended the Boston meeting was that it was one of the most helpful and inspiring of the series. Seldom has so distinguished a body of public men been brought together at a single meeting ; and their contributions to the discussion of the vexed and complicated questions of municipal government and development were in keeping with their standing. The tone of the suggestions was most hopeful. This was partly due to the fact that the efforts which have been unremittingly put forth in behalf of higher standards in various localities are beginning to bear fruit in an aroused and intelligent public opinion. While there was a clear recognition of the difficulties of the situation, and of the great obstacles to be overcome, nevertheless a strong feeling prevailed that the progress thus far accomplished was substantial and indicative of still greater to come in the near future.

The descriptive papers showing the situation in the leading cities constitute a distinct contribution on both the critical and constructive sides. They indicate what has been done and what remains to be done. They point out with clearness and distinctness the difficulties confronting municipal workers, and the methods to be pursued to overcome them. They, moreover, take a reasonable view of the situation, not expecting nor exacting a millenial advance, although emphasizing the encouraging features and their significance.

The report of the Committee on Instruction in American Educational Institutions is constructively helpful, and will unquestionably form the basis of still further activity along the lines of the Committee's work. The same is true of the

report of the Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics, which has been received with favor in many quarters. Its suggestions and recommendations have already been adopted in a number of cities and in others are being carefully considered with that end in view. The effect of the work of these two Committees during the past two years has been distinctly advantageous and has served to strengthen the hold of the League upon the thinking people of America. It can fairly be said, without overlooking the excellent work done by its sister organizations working in other parts of the same field, that its constructive contributions have been of the greatest value and perhaps the most helpful of all the contributions which have thus far been made. The League has specialized more than other organizations, and its assured and growing influence is no doubt due to this fact. Believing that the political phases of the problem are of primary importance, the League has, with singleness of purpose, insisted upon giving these first consideration. Not that the other questions involved in the municipal problem are deemed to be unworthy of thoughtful and careful consideration ; but until the people are aroused from their indifference and lethargy in matters municipal very little real advance may be expected. Moreover, if the political situation of the cities remains as it has in most of our cities, inefficient if not corrupt, the other municipal movements, interesting and important though they may be, will have but meager opportunity for extension and development. Therefore, the League has continued to insist upon an aroused and educated public sentiment touching municipal affairs, and that they must be considered separate and apart from state and national politics. While carrying on a crusade for these fundamental principles it has sought in every way possible to provide more adequate means for the expression of public sentiment and for the management of municipal affairs. This happy combination of the two methods which has commended the League in its efforts to so many of the practical workers of the country has given it an enviable position among those who are striving for higher municipal standards in American cities.

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EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE
AND
TENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE
FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT
HELD AT
BOSTON, MASS., MAY 7, 8 and 9, 1902

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The opening session was held at the Twentieth Century Club, No. 2 Ashburton Place, Boston, at 2 p. m., Wednesday, May 7, 1902.

SAMUEL B. CAPEN, Esq., Chairman of the Boston Committee of Arrangements: In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, it is my privilege and pleasure to extend the first words of welcome to the National Municipal League at its eighth annual meeting. For several years representatives from Boston have received a similar courtesy from other cities, and we are glad that the time has come when we can have an opportunity to return to others the courtesies which we have received.

You will notice that the welcome which was extended to you in the printed call came from various organizations. I am sorry to say that the Boston Municipal League, which did such good work for many years, has not been efficient of late. But this is not so much to be regretted, because work that was mapped out in its original constitution has been subdivided, and much of it is now carried on by different organizations along special lines. The Twentieth Century Club, which was organized about the same time as the Municipal League, has taken up in a most admirable way some phases of our former work, adding others, and is carrying them on to great success. It has done much to create civic pride and civic interest. The Public School Association has also taken upon itself one of the prominent features of the work of the Municipal League, and has been a very great power in helping to nominate and elect worthy men and women for the School Committee. The Civic League has also been organized, and is doing a large work in interesting our citizens in needed reforms, those relating to charitable and reformatory institutions, playgrounds for the poor, etc. There is the Citizens' Association, and many others. So that while we have no one Municipal League to extend

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you a greeting, we have many to do it, leagues that are doing along separate lines the work that is done in other cities by one group of persons under one organization.

First, because *the problem of the city is so vitally important*, we welcome you as representatives from many cities, anew to its discussions. We all recognize that the problem of the city is the great problem of America, and that population is steadily drifting to these great centers. Modern machinery, which is being used on our farms, is making it possible for one man to do the work of the many a generation or two ago. The increase in what the world needs to eat is not as great as the increased power of machinery to plant and to harvest. Manufactured articles, on the other hand, are in increasing demand, and can be made most cheaply at the great centers where labor is most abundant; so the drift will continue. Every city has its slums and its semi-criminal classes, and vice and ignorance are always dangerous in combination. To quote from another: "Saltpeter, charcoal and sulphur are non-explosive, but together they make gunpowder; and in their turn vice and ignorance, when they are combined, make social dynamite."

Second, we welcome you also *because of the men who are your recognized leaders*. It has been a most happy thing that from the beginning this National Municipal League has had for its President you, Mr. Carter, who are the recognized leader of the bar in this country, and whose name for years has been a tower or strength for good government and for municipal purity. And you, Mr. Bonaparte, as chairman of the Executive Committee, are known by us, as you are by all lovers of purity in politics everywhere. We know what you have wrought in your own city, what you have done for civil service reform, and we glory in it all. And to you, Mr. Woodruff, as Secretary of this League, and to whom more than to any other man it owes its great success, we have followed your course as you have again and again in your own city and state been the leader of various reforms. We have seen you go into the thick of the fight, standing everywhere and always as a champion for that which is best. We welcome you all, and those whom you represent, to this gathering.

Third, we welcome you *for the great movement for which you stand*. While our cities are so full of evil, it is to be borne in mind that there never were so many good forces at work as at this hour. It is only eight years since the Philadelphia and Boston Municipal Leagues were organized. To-day there are more than one hundred associations affiliated with this League from all parts of the country, and there is much to show for these years of work. While many people are mourning over conditions they do not like, how many there are, as Kipling says, who are "doing things." To go back only a few weeks, let us notice the great civic awakening in St. Louis, where corrupt men are being brought to justice. Note the steady progress in reform in Chicago, brought about by that noble organization, the Voters' Municipal League.

This League has been interested from the beginning in everything that has to do with wiser election laws and the purity of the ballot. Many of us here in Boston have felt that the most practical of all methods to destroy the

power of the "boss," who has become in many of our cities such a force, is to press the idea of direct primaries and make the caucus an initial election. It is interesting to note the steady gain of public opinion all over the country in favor of this reform. It has been adopted in many places in the west, notably in Minneapolis and St. Paul. We have seen its effect in San Francisco, where the power of the "boss" was overthrown, and it is most significant that at the election last month in Chicago the voters in that city cast in favor of direct primaries 125,082 votes, to only 15,861 votes cast in the negative. It is not often that a city declares by a vote of eight to one in favor of a great reform! I am glad to say that Massachusetts is moving forward in this direction, although the progress is less than we wish. It is along such practical lines as these that this League is working, and we believe that its usefulness in the future will be greater than that in the past. As its influence is being more and more acknowledged, its power for righteousness will be more and more increased.

While it is believed that Boston has been the best governed of any of our large cities, and while we have not had the great public scandals that have appeared in other places, yet, nevertheless, there is a need here of a quickening of the civic conscience which is essential to all reform movements. There are too many among us who are almost criminally indifferent to all public interests, because they are so engrossed in their own business and pleasures. We are glad to have this gathering, therefore, in Boston, with the hope that our meetings may have large influence in calling attention anew to the importance of these things. We have within a few weeks celebrated the eightieth anniversary of Boston's greatest citizen, Dr. Edward Everett Hale. He said not long ago, "I believe in the twentieth century no intelligent or decent man will sneak out of his duties as a citizen." We may hope that the presence of this League may somehow make an impression on some of our indifferent men, for they ought to be made to realize that the most dangerous persons in any community are those who might be leaders in the right, but who skulk and shirk, and do nothing. We need an organized public conscience which will change neglect into self-denial, and indifference into patriotism.

For all these reasons, and in the name of our various civic organizations, we welcome you, therefore, most heartily to our city. The Committee of Arrangements desires to serve you in every possible way, and to make your stay among us as pleasant and as profitable as possible. We rejoice in the program that the National Committee has provided, and we are sure that our meeting together will be of unusual interest.

Now, I have the pleasure of introducing to you, to speak in behalf of the Governor of Massachusetts, Speaker James J. Myers, who certainly needs no introduction to any of you. [Applause.]

SPEAKER JAMES J. MYERS, on behalf of the Governor of Massachusetts: I share with you the regret you feel that the Governor of the Commonwealth is not here in person to-day to extend the congratulations and the welcome of the State to you who have come here on this worthy mission. I should ill

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serve him, with his view of his duty on such an occasion as this, if I indulged in any extended remarks. His motto is, "Works rather than words," and, speaking for him, it becomes me to adopt the same motto. I should not be true to myself, however, if I did not express to you my great pleasure at the opportunity to perform this pleasant function, if I did not say to you how much I esteem the privilege.

I know that Massachusetts appreciates the work on which you come here, because Massachusetts believes that you are engaged in the work of in some way restoring local self-government to something of its original purity and energy. It was in Massachusetts, perhaps more than anywhere else, that local self-government, founded on a deep sense of the individual responsibilities of each man in the old town, found its best and intensest expression. It was because of that earnestness of their local political life, of their sense of civic duty, that Massachusetts towns in all those earlier years, and that some Massachusetts towns, and large ones even, down to this very day, have achieved a reputation, which is a distinction, for purity and cleanliness of town-government,—a reputation which amounts to saying that in that locality every dollar that is expended goes to the purpose for which it was intended.

Massachusetts, therefore, believing that you stand for an organization which means, if possible, to inspire something of that old sense of intense personal responsibility to the local government in which men live, brings her especial congratulations and thanks to your organization. Massachusetts realizes, of course, that in this growing development which is taking place all about us, there is a wonderful temptation to all men to neglect this duty. I do not believe that the thinking men of Massachusetts believe that purity in city government is to be secured by any mere change in the method or the form of doing the thing. It is by energy and interest on the part of those citizens who have fallen so much into the habit of neglecting their duty that Massachusetts men believe we are to find some relief. Massachusetts knows that some of her strongest and richest and most high-minded men are strangely indifferent to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. She hopes that this meeting will in some way bring home to them the opportunity and the duty of the hour in respect to their municipalities. She knows perfectly well that in this great complex civilization of ours the great cities, whose people know each other so little, as distinguished from the little towns, where every man knew every other man in the old days—she knows that here something must be brought in, something of the zeal and earnestness that existed there, if this complex organism, of which we form a part, is to be successfully and wisely handled. We have experimented long enough to know that mere forms will not save us from falling into corrupt and dissolute methods of municipal government.

I remember reading just a little while ago that closing chapter in de Tocqueville, which has sometimes been spoken of as slightly pessimistic, but I caught in it one sentence which is optimistic enough for me. He says: "I cling with firmer hold to the belief that for democratic communities to be independent and prosperous and virtuous it but requires that they shall

will it;" and it is because Massachusetts believes that such organizations as this will help to make the cities of Massachusetts, the cities everywhere, "will it," that she is especially interested in your gathering. She believes that if you can make these men, who are devoting their splendid energies to the accumulation of their fortunes, to the discharge of their business interests, to meeting all the other responsibilities of life, only once "will it," that the cities also in which they live, and in whose prosperity their prosperity is bound up, shall be well governed and prosperous and virtuous, it will be so. She believes that as long as the strong and the influential and the able men, that control and guide other affairs, neglect to do their proper part in the work of upbuilding and guiding and sustaining the municipal government, so long will it fail to respond to the high demand that is made upon it here in this country. She believes that when those men can be inspired and stirred by such meetings as this to come up and do their duty, much will have been accomplished. She appreciates the dangers that confront the future (no man can be blind to those, and you are going to hear them discussed so much that it would be wrong for me to stand here and say one word on them), she knows that those great dangers are growing ones; she knows that the great municipalities are a menace unless they are handled well and handled honestly,—a menace to republican institutions.

And so she bids me come and bid you all a cordial welcome to Massachusetts, to thank you for what you have done, and to wish you success in what you are attempting to do, to assure you that anything that her citizens who are interested in your welfare can do, she will share in; and that when you go hence she will bid you God-speed on one of the best missions that it is given to American citizenship to perform. For her sake, in her name, I am thankful that you have decided to come here. I assure you that, one and all, we will do what we can to make your stay pleasant, and we have every confidence that Boston, and all our citizens, and the cities of the land, will be the better for your gathering, and will be the better as the years shall come for the work you shall do as the years go on.
[Applause.]

MR. CAPEN: I am sure we are very grateful to Speaker Myers for these earnest words, and it is a pleasure for me to say that in all the years that he has held his high position of trust we have always found him on the side of righteousness, and that he has used every influence in his power to help on every good cause. And now it is a very great satisfaction to me to present to you His Honor, Mayor Collins, who has come out of a very busy life, as you must know, to give in person words of welcome from the city to this National Municipal League. His Honor, Mayor Collins. [Applause.]

HON. P. A. COLLINS, Mayor of Boston: As Mr. Capen has said, I have snatched a few minutes from one of the busiest days of my life to come here with my whole heart to say a word of welcome to this representative body. I have, during my short time in the mayoralty, welcomed many individuals at the office without sending out search-warrants for them [laughter], and some

I did not welcome. [Renewed laughter.] I have welcomed different bodies of ladies and gentlemen who have done the city the honor of selecting it as a convention city, congratulating them on the felicity of their choice, and giving them a word of welcome from the city; but I confess that no body of men or women, no body of both, has ever come to the City of Boston, that I have welcomed with greater pleasure than I do this organization. [Applause.]

I wish that the exigencies of the situation permitted me to spend to-day and to-morrow in your company, because I know that I could learn a great deal that would assist me in the twenty months more that I have to serve; but I assure you that, during the time that you are here and I am down at the City Hall, I shall not do anything to call for your criticism. [Laughter.] So it will be performance rather than promise. But I shall watch your proceedings with a great deal of interest, as I have in the past, before I ever thought it would be—I was going to say my misfortune—to be called to the office of Chief Magistrate of this city. I think you have done the best work that citizens have ever done in awakening public conscience, in stimulating public spirit, touching the government of our cities, and good government everywhere; and in behalf of the organization that I represent here, the corporation of the City of Boston, I thank you for the assistance that it has received in solving many problems, and in preparing to solve many more in the future.

I do not speak for myself, but I speak for the city government in general, when I say that the sweeping condemnation of city governments for corruption is hardly warranted by anything within my ken. There is a great deal of extravagance in city government, and there is a great deal of waste, but, so far as I have been able to see, up in this corner of the land, there is very little corruption, and, so far as I have known, during the four months in which I have held office in the City of Boston, absolutely none whatsoever. But there is waste, there is extravagance, there is a disregard of the value of the people's money; and the view that some people take of the public funds is quite different from that which they would take of private funds. In other words, the community is a prey to wastefulness and extravagance. While the money in the pocket of the individual, or in the bank of the individual, would never be molested, the man who is ordinarily honest, who would not pick a pocket, burn a barn or rob a bank, is inclined to be pretty free with other people's money, except when he is trustee. And the primary object, it seems to me, of the League is to teach the people of Boston, for example, that the man who robs 460,000 persons of one copper is guilty 460,000 times as much as if he robbed one man of a copper. [Laughter and applause.] Start upon a basis of common honesty, which ought to be taught in the schools, and ought to be taught in the pulpit, instead of a multitude of things that are of very little moral use to the community that are taught in the schools, and instead of doctrines of theology which are taught in the pulpit; start on the basis of common honesty, not because it is the best policy, but because it is right. I have always maintained that the man who stole from 460,000 persons in the community is 460,000 times as bad as the man who steals from one. I

hope to work out that problem so as to educate the people in this town up to an acceptance of that proposition [laughter], and I know that I will have the assistance of all of you.

I repeat that I am extremely sorry that public duties compel my absence from your most interesting discussions, and that I cannot again kneel at the feet of the savior, so as to learn more about municipal morality than I already know. But you will admit, Mr. Capen, as you will admit, Mr. President, that I have the basic principle.

I thank you very much for your reception; I welcome you with all my heart to this model of all cities, the city of my love; and if you find anything wrong here in any part of it, except where the police have control, because that is a state body [laughter], come down to the City Hall and let me know. [Laughter and loud applause.]

JAMES C. CARTER, Esq., of New York, President of the National Municipal League: *Mr. Speaker Myers, his Honor the Mayor*—if he were here—he has just gone—*Mr. Capen*: I beg to acknowledge, on behalf of the National Municipal League, and to acknowledge with abundant thanks, this most cordial reception,—cordial in every way, and welcome in every way. This League has heretofore, as you know, generally selected for the places of its Annual Conferences the newer and the smaller cities, where the municipal conditions were more imperfect, and where, for obvious reasons, it was thought that we might be able to do the most good. This year we come to the ancient City of Boston, under the shadow of the venerable Commonwealth of Massachusetts,—a great community, one of the oldest, one of the best established, and renowned from the first for the public spirit of its citizens. It is a fair and a just expectation that we should find here municipal conditions in a much more developed state, and to a much greater extent free from those evils and those mischiefs which are so damaging in many other of the cities of the land. I am sure that in that particular we shall not be disappointed. Indeed, one cannot walk through the streets of Boston for five minutes without perceiving that there is here an order, a regularity, a system, an accountability, a sense of duty and a determination to perform duty which, to say the least, are not universal everywhere.

We have not always heretofore been thus received, especially by the municipal governments, or even by the state governments, where we have happened to select places to hold our meetings. It is an especial satisfaction to us to receive this welcome on behalf of the state and on behalf of the city. We take it as an evidence that those in authority recognize the importance of this association, that they understand and recognize the fact that a large number of people interested in the business of municipal government in all parts of our land, having more or less to do with the municipal conditions in the several cities to which they belong, cannot possibly meet together to discuss these great problems, and endeavor to formulate methods for improvement, and for the redress of mischiefs, without great public benefit.

We hope from our experience here, and from our observation here—it is

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fair that we should hope—to learn a great deal. We come, as I say, to a place where institutions have been long established, where the period of experiment ought at least long since to have been gone through, and where the fruits of knowledge and the fruits of experience should have been garnered up and expressed in the formulas of practice. No doubt we shall be able to learn much in that direction.

We indulge the hope also—it is not impossible—that the citizens of Boston and those in authority may learn from the experiences that we shall bring with us, and from the conferences in which we may take a part, something of value.

I catch your thought, Mr. Capen, and re-echo it, that the problem of the country to-day is the problem of the city,—the greatest of all. We have taken, always taken—that is the nature of our people, and I do not in any manner discourage it—on the contrary, I recommend it and praise it—we have always taken the greatest interest in our national elections; but, if I were called upon to state the comparative importance of national politics and of municipal politics, I should almost say that the first is but as dust in the balance compared with the latter. When our municipal institutions, when our home institutions, when our social families—for our cities are our social families—are placed upon the right basis, are conducted with righteousness, with order and with justice, the result will be not only a vast improvement in our municipal conditions and our municipal politics, but our national politics themselves will receive a new invigoration and a new purification.

Again, gentlemen, I thank you for this most cordial welcome to the City of Boston. [Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen, the business of the meeting is now open, and the first paper to be read is one by the Secretary, Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, of Philadelphia, on "A Year's Municipal Progress." [Applause.]

Mr. Woodruff then read his paper on "A Year's Municipal Progress." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next business in order is the Treasurer's report, to be presented by Mr. George Burnham, Jr., of Philadelphia.

MR. BURNHAM: Your Treasurer is glad that he can report a considerable increase in expenditures for the year just elapsed as compared with the previous year. Possibly his pleasure in this fact would not be so great were it not also true that the revenues of your association have correspondingly increased, so that he finds himself at the end of the year with a comfortable balance in hand. While one does not look at the financial reports in an association like ours to ascertain the work it has accomplished, yet increased expenditure, provided always it is wise and proper expenditure, is in itself an index of growth and extended usefulness. Since, therefore, our outgo has increased some 26 per cent over the preceding twelve months, our income showing a gain of about 25 per cent for the same period, we may infer that our condition is one of healthy expansion. The figures for the last year are as follows:

FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

9

TREASURER'S REPORT—MAY 5, 1902

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand May 1, 1901	\$475 92
From membership dues	2,155 00
" contributions	1,968 52
" sales "Proceedings"	396 82
" overpayment refunded	42 35
" interest	4 94
	<hr/>
	\$5,043 55

EXPENDITURES

For printing and stationery	\$1,073 69
" postage	550 00
" clerical work	333 72
" news clippings	168 40
" general expenses	775 35
" Secretary	750 00
" Rochester "Proceedings"	700 00
	<hr/>
	4,351 16

Balance on hand May 5, 1902 \$692 39

GEO. BURNHAM, Jr., *Treasurer.*

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you hear the report of the Treasurer. What disposition shall be made of it?

MR. WOODRUFF: I move that it be received and placed on file, and audited by a committee of two to be appointed by the chair.

The motion was duly seconded, put and unanimously carried, and it was so ordered.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next business in order is the election of officers. In what manner shall this election be conducted?

MR. WOODRUFF: There is a report from a Committee on Nominations.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are ready to hear from the Committee on Nominations.

PROF. ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Harvard University: Mr. Chairman, I desire to submit the report of the Committee on Nominations:—

President, James C. Carter, New York.

First Vice-President, Charles Richardson, Philadelphia.

Second Vice-President, Samuel B. Capen, Boston.

Third Vice-President, Thomas N. Strong, Portland, Oregon.

Fourth Vice-President, Edmund J. James, Evanston, Illinois.

Fifth Vice-President, Dr. H. Dickson Bruns, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia.

Treasurer, George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia.

Executive Committee.—Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, Chairman; William G. Low, Brooklyn, N. Y. (1894); Dudley Tibbits, Troy, N. Y. (1894);

Frank N. Hartwell, Louisville, Ky. (1895); George W. Ochs, Philadelphia, (1896); George W. Guthrie, Pittsburg, Pa. (1897); John A. Butler, Milwaukee, Wis. (1897); Oliver McClintock, Pittsburg, Pa. (1898); Harry A. Garfield, Cleveland, Ohio (1897); Hector McIntosh, Philadelphia (1898); William P. Bancroft, Wilmington, Del. (1899); E. M. Thresher, Dayton, Ohio (1899); Joseph T. Alling, Rochester, N. Y. (1901); John Scudder McLain, Minneapolis, Minn. (1902); Hon. D. L. D. Granger, Providence, R. I. (1902); Harry B. French, Philadelphia (1902); E. B. Warren, Brookline, Mass., (1902.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you hear the report of the Committee on Nominations. What action do you wish to have taken in respect to it?

MR. DAVIS, of Detroit: I move that we elect the officers by a *viva voce* vote.

MR. CAPEN: I second the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: On the entire ticket?

MR. DAVIS: On the entire ticket as recommended.

A *viva voce* was thereupon taken and duly carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair will accordingly put the question on the election of the officers reported to a vote. [Whereupon a *viva voce* vote was taken.]

THE CHAIRMAN: The officers nominated appear to be unanimously elected.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next address will be, "The Work of the American League for Civic Improvement," by Prof. Charles Zueblin, of Chicago, President of the American League for Civic Improvement. [Applause.]

Professor Zueblin then delivered an address on "The Work of the American League for Civic Improvement." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to listen to a paper on "The Work of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association," by Mr. Edward J. Parker, of Quincy, Illinois, President of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association. In the absence of Mr. Parker, this paper will be read by Mr. Warren H. Manning, of Boston.

MR. MANNING: I regret that our association cannot be represented by an orator like the gentleman who has just preceded me, and whose good work we all realize. I can only give you in a modest way the work of our association, as prepared by our President, who is unable to be present.

MR. Manning then read Mr. Parker's paper on "The Work of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association. (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: This concludes the papers and subjects which were assigned for this afternoon's session. Time yet remains, however, for an opportunity for discussion pertinent to any of the subjects which have been touched upon. I understood that Mr. Walker was desired to make some observations, which would be appropriate at this moment.

MR. C. HOWARD WALKER, Boston: I suppose it was in relation to the connection of architects, or the attitude of architects to the National Municipal League, and the League for Municipal Improvement, and so on, that I have been asked to say something. In listening to these most enlightening

talks and to the reading of papers, I clearly perceive that they leave nothing to be said except that the architects are with you, horse, foot and dragoons, every time. [Laughter.] As I glanced at the photograph of the statue of President Lincoln, I could not help thinking of a remark that he made, that you could fool all the people part of the time, some of the people all the time, but you couldn't fool all the people all the time; and it seemed to me that the whole situation was simply this, that we were trying to find out how to reach the "some of the people" who are being "fooled all the time." The others are already taking care of the situation. The whole attitude of the National Municipal League, the American League for Civic Improvement, the American Park and Outdoor Art Association, the American Institute of Architects, and the different bodies that are coming up all over the country, is simply this: United action to educate the most of the people, who at present are most willing to be educated, who have the very best intentions, but who have little or no knowledge. [Applause.] Whatever you give credit to people for having, eventually that they will have. You get out of them eventually what you put into them; and it is up to us to feed them. That really appears to be the heart of the situation. The absolute willingness, the absolute intention, the deliberate and well-organized attack all along the line, are very definite, and expanding rapidly, and becoming more and more enthusiastic. Instead of looking at the thing in a pessimistic way, we will have to restrain ourselves perhaps a little on the optimistic side. That there should be united action, and that there is united action, is very definitely known. That action should begin with laws, it should begin with laws that are pretty far-reaching, and yet that are not revolutionary, but are a deliberate addition to present conditions. Why, everything that has been said here to-day proves that; and all that we have got to do is to congratulate ourselves on being present, and on being such extremely satisfactory fellows as we are. [Laughter and applause.]

MR. WOODRUFF: Mr. Chairman, I take this opportunity of reading a letter from the Boston Chamber of Commerce, addressed to me as Secretary applying for affiliated membership in the League; and I move that it be referred to the Executive Committee for action.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that this communication be referred to the Executive Committee for action.

This motion prevailed.

THE CHAIRMAN: As the Executive Committee, which usually acts upon these applications, may not be in session to-day, the League itself, being in full session, undoubtedly has the power. Some motion may be made that the application of the Boston Chamber of Commerce be granted.

MR. DAVIS: I make that motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the application just read from the Boston Chamber of Commerce be granted. It is a vote, and it is so ordered.

MR. CHARLES RICHARDSON, of Philadelphia: In connection with the report of the Secretary and the Treasurer, I think that it would be very well

to state that the usefulness of the National Municipal League depends very largely upon the number of its associate members, and upon the finances, the contributions and the membership dues; and if any of the ladies or gentlemen present who are not members of the League feel like joining it, they can do so by communicating with the Secretary, or they can help by inducing their friends to do so. This will be a practical work of assistance to the League.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair desires to add its word to that which has just been expressed by Mr. Richardson. You must be aware, of course, that the efficiency of the National Municipal League depends to a very considerable extent upon the extent of its membership. Our meetings, our conferences, are always open to all friends of the cause, and the need of joining the League is not always so immediately felt by individuals. When they reflect, however, how largely the usefulness of the League is dependent on that membership, and the dues, however small they are, which come from membership, why, they will see its importance. The League has to rely, I may say, for its revenues, upon two sources. They are, in the first place, the dues of the individual members, and they are, in the next place, the contributions, the voluntary contributions, of those who are sufficiently interested to make them, and who have become thereby, as it were, supporting members, paying something more than their formal dues. For this increase of membership I particularly speak; and of course the increase of supporting members, who are ready to contribute something more than their dues, would be at all times acceptable. As we have learned from the report of the Treasurer, the finances of the institution are in a flourishing condition, so far as such a condition is indicated by a suitable balance in hand, which he has. At the same time, its usefulness could be very much increased by a very much larger expenditure, particularly in the way of the printing of documents and the sending out of documents, all of which, of course, involves very considerable expense. The work of the League, and its influence, would be greatly extended if its means for accomplishing these purposes were suitably increased. I hope that those who are not now members of the League, but are disposed to become such, will avail themselves of this opportunity.

MR. RICHARDSON: May I add that the membership dues, which some of those present may not know, are \$5 per annum?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that we adjourn to 8 o'clock this evening.

Motion carried.

WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION

The League met, pursuant to adjournment, at 8 p. m., in the Lecture Hall of the Boston University Law School, President James C. Carter, presiding.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have the pleasure of presenting to you the gentleman who is to read the first paper this evening, Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore. [Applause]

Mr. Bonaparte then read a paper on "The Movement for Honest Government." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I will now introduce to you the gentleman who is to read the next paper, on "Harrisburg's Advance: A Lesson to Smaller Municipalities," Mr. J. Horace McFarland. [Applause.]

Mr. McFarland then read his paper on "Harrisburg's Advance: A Lesson to Smaller Municipalities." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will make an announcement.

MR. WOODRUFF: I desire to say that there will be no change in to-morrow's program, except that the paper on "A Non-partisan Administration," by Hon. E. A. Philbin, former District Attorney of New York, which was to have come on Friday morning, will be read to-morrow morning instead. Mr. Philbin is to serve as one of the pall-bearers at Archbishop Corrigan's funeral on Friday, and for that reason will not be able to be here on that day, so he will read his paper to-morrow morning instead of Friday morning. There is now to be a reception for the League at the Twentieth Century Club. The meeting then adjourned.

THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

The League met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 A. M., Thursday, May 8, in the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, President James C. Carter presiding.

THE CHAIRMAN: The League will come to order, and we will begin the business of the morning. The first paper will be one on "A Non-partisan Administration," by the Hon. Eugene A. Philbin, formerly District Attorney of New York. [Applause.]

Mr. Philbin then read his paper on "A Non-partisan Administration." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper will be by Vice-President Charles Richardson, on "The Philadelphia Situation." [Applause.]

Mr. Richardson then read his paper on "The Philadelphia Situation." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper will be upon "The Boston Street Railway Situation," by Mr. E. H. Clement, editor of the Boston "Transcript." [Applause.]

Mr. Clement then read his paper on "The Boston Street Railway Situation." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper will be on "The Chicago Street Railway Situation," by Mr. George C. Sikes, Secretary of the Local Transportation Committee of Chicago. [Applause.]

Mr. Sikes then read his paper on "The Chicago Street Railway Situation." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper will be on "The Cleveland Street Railway Situation," by Dr. E. W. Bemis, the Superintendent of the Cleveland Water Works. [Applause.]

Dr. Bemis then read his paper on "The Cleveland Street Railway Situation." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: So much time has been occupied, gentlemen, in the reading of these very interesting papers, that very little time has been left for discussion. It is now almost time that we should take our recess, but a very brief discussion may still be had on them, and an opportunity for that purpose is now given.

MR. WOODRUFF: Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that Mr. Callendar, of Detroit, tell us something of their rather interesting franchise experience in Detroit.

MR. SHERMAN D. CALLENDAR, Secretary of the Detroit Municipal League: At this late hour I do not think, Mr. President, that it would be well to enter upon even a chapter of the experience which Detroit has had in franchise legislation. However, in the last two or three years, we have had some experiences which possibly, if briefly placed before the members of the Municipal League, would be of some value. I take it that most of those who are present are familiar with the experiences of Detroit, so far as the street-car situation is concerned, under the régime of the late Governor Pingree. The telephone situation, however, is what we have been more especially interested in during the past year.

The Bell Telephone Company has been doing business in Detroit for a number of years, with a very large subscription list, under authority of the State Legislature, and under no franchise whatever received from the city. In the year 1896, a large number of people, feeling that the Bell Company was charging unreasonable rates, organized what was called the Detroit Telephone Company, and asked for a franchise from the Common Council, which was granted, with the provision that the rates to be charged should not exceed \$30 for a residence telephone, and \$48 for a business telephone. The inevitable resulted. Inside of four years it was found that the men who were promoting the Detroit Telephone Company, the stockholders in that company, were practically the same people who owned the stock in the Detroit Bell Telephone Company, which was doing business under the name of the Michigan Telephone Company. Accordingly, on the 4th day of April, 1900, the so-called Detroit Telephone Company, which had secured the franchise from the Common Council, executed a bill of sale to the Michigan Telephone Company, and for a valuable consideration transferred to the latter all of its physical property and franchise rights.

One of the sections of the franchise granted to the Detroit Telephone Company read as follows:

"That all the rights, liabilities, obligations, herein granted or imposed upon the said Detroit Telephone Company shall apply to and be operative in favor of or against any assignee or successor of said company."

The result was that after the bill of sale was executed the Michigan Telephone Company industriously canvassed all the subscribers previously secured to the Detroit Telephone Company, and induced all of them, with the exception of twenty-eight, to change their contracts under the Detroit

Telephone franchise to a contract with the Bell Telephone Company, giving them, in the most instances, the rate which the Detroit Telephone Company was charging under its franchise. They combined the switchboards of the two companies, and for a period of about eighteen months, I think I may say in all truthfulness that Detroit had the poorest telephone service of any city of its size in the United States.

On the first day of last January, after giving the people of Detroit that kind of service for such a period — after there had been frequent meetings called to protest against the treatment which the people were receiving — after sending out repeated notices to the people asking them to be patient and they would have the best service in the United States after the 1st of January, the Michigan Telephone Company greeted its patrons with a notice that on the 1st of January there would be an increase in the rate charged of 66 per cent over the rate that they had been paying before. The reason they gave why they should make this increase was that they were not able, under the old rate, to pay reasonable dividends to the stockholders of the Michigan Telephone Company. They said nothing about whether the stock was a watered stock or not. You may imagine the sentiment which that brought forth from the people of the city of Detroit. Litigation was begun; a case was started by one of the twenty-eight subscribers to the Detroit Telephone Company, by a *mandamus* proceeding, to compel the Michigan Telephone Company to give to him as a subscriber holding a contract with the Detroit Telephone Company, service at the rate provided for in the Detroit Telephone franchise; and I wish especially to call your attention to the decision of our Supreme Court, which was handed down a few months ago, in which the five judges sitting *en banc* decided by unanimous opinion that the Bell Telephone Company having purchased the franchise of the Detroit Company, and assuming its liabilities, it was compelled to carry out the contract which the city entered into with the Detroit Telephone Company, and to furnish the subscribers of the Detroit Telephone Company the service at the rate provided in the telephone franchise granted to the Detroit Company; and they went even further than that, and held that even though a party might not at the time hold a contract under the Detroit Telephone franchise, if he should demand a contract under the Detroit Telephone franchise at the rate provided therein, the Michigan Telephone Company would, by virtue of its obligations assumed in purchasing their contract, be required to give them that kind of a contract. [Applause.] How the litigation will ultimately terminate we are not able to tell at present. The case will be taken to the United States Supreme Court.

In the meantime, let me call your attention to the fact that the Common Council of our city, going upon the theory that the granting of a competitive franchise is a good thing, has granted two other franchises, one to the so-called People's Telephone Company, which was organized, and secured a large number of subscribers, with a slightly smaller charge for service provided than was provided in the original Detroit telephone franchise. This company secured a large number of subscribers, and has partially installed its plant. The company was backed by the Everett-Moore syndicate, and the

failure of that financial institution, or partial failure, a short time ago, has caused the People's Company to discontinue the installation of its plant. In the meantime, a new telephone company was organized, called the Coöperative Telephone Company, and it asked for a franchise at the hands of the Common Council, which was granted only a few weeks ago,—a franchise which has the features, many of which are certainly desirable, of giving the city the right to audit the books, and giving the city, at the termination of ten years, the right, if it secures the authority from the State Legislature, to own and operate and take over the entire plant. At the present time I think the Coöperative Telephone Company has found it practically impossible to finance its company. At least four franchises have been granted, and yet the Bell Telephone Company holds the field undisputed, in the meantime having increased its telephone charges to the extent of 66 per cent, and, if it should see fit to do so, with no contract with the city at the present time which would prevent it, at the beginning of next month it can increase its telephone charges 66 per cent more. I will forego entirely the other remarks which I wished to make, which were in relation to the gas situation. We have a committee of the Municipal League, a Franchise Committee, which has appeared before the Franchise Committee of the Common Council, and has insisted upon certain features, being put into the different franchises that are asked for. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any motion to be made before the recess is taken?

MR. RICHARDSON: I would like to ask whether the report of the Committee on Instruction will be presented?

MR. WOODRUFF: I desire to say, in reply to that question, that I have a letter here from Dr. Finley, of Princeton, who fully expected to be here this morning, stating that he had been requested to go to Cuba in the discharge of an important public duty. He has sent me all the information that he has gathered on the subject, and as it is rather voluminous, I would suggest, inasmuch as our program is quite crowded, that it be printed in the proceedings; or, as the President suggests, that it be referred to the Executive Committee, and I move that it be referred to the Executive Committee for action.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the report of the Committee on Instruction be received and referred to the Executive Committee for such disposition as it may think suitable.

The motion prevailed.

MR. RICHARDSON: I would like to offer a resolution in connection with the work of the Instruction Committee. It seems to me that the time has come when it should be extended to the general schools, the public and private schools of American cities. Hitherto it has very properly confined its efforts to the universities and colleges, but I would like to offer this resolution:

"That the Committee on Instruction in Municipal Government in American Educational Institutions be continued, and that it be requested to take such action as it may deem practicable and best calculated to promote and

facilitate the teaching and study of the essential principles of good city government in all public and private schools in American cities."

We must remember that the great bulk of the children in American cities never reach the colleges and universities, and it is exceedingly important that education on this subject should extend to them. President Hadley, of Yale, in a recent address, said:

"The most profoundly important work which falls to the lot of the American citizen is his work of guiding the destinies of his country. It is at once his greatest privilege and his heaviest duty. If we train the members of the rising generation to do this well, all other things can be trusted to take care of themselves. If we do not train them to do this well, no amount of education in other lines will make up for the deficiency."

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair would suggest to Mr. Richardson that that resolution is quite an important one, and may provoke some discussion, and if it should be laid upon the table for a while, and subsequently taken up, it might perhaps be the best disposition of it, if that is agreeable.

MR. RICHARDSON: Whatever the chairman wishes.

THE CHAIRMAN: The resolution will accordingly lie upon the table. A recess will now be taken until 2 P. M.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The League met, pursuant to adjournment, at 2 P. M., in the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, President James C. Carter presiding.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we have considerable to go through with this afternoon, and therefore it is necessary that we should begin at once. The first paper will be the report of the Committee on "Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics" by Dr. E. M. Hartwell, City Statistician of Boston.

Dr. Hartwell then presented the Report of the Committee on "Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper is on "Uniform Accounting Applied to Boston, Baltimore and other Municipalities," by Mr. Harvey S. Chase, of Boston.

Mr. Chase then presented his paper on "Uniform Municipal Accounting applied to Boston, Baltimore and other Municipalities." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We have now to listen to Mr. Laurence Minot, of Boston, president of the Boston Bureau of Statistics. His subject is, "The City as a Business Corporation."

DR. HARTWELL: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Minot is absent in the west, but his paper was handed to the Secretary of the League.

MR. WOODRUFF: I move that we receive and print Mr. Minot's paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: The suggestion is made that inasmuch as Mr. Minot is not here and we have considerable other matter to attend to this afternoon, that his paper might be received and printed.

A motion to this effect was carried. (See Appendix for Mr. Minot's paper.)

THE CHAIRMAN: An opportunity will now be afforded for discussion pertinent to the papers that have been read, and if Professor Davis R. Dewey, Secretary of the American Statistical Association, is present, an opportunity will be given to him.

PROFESSOR DEWEY: The League is certainly to be congratulated upon the progress which has been made through its efforts in securing more uniform statistics for cities. It has been part of my business for some fifteen years to look over a great many municipal reports every year, many of them to little purpose; and one who has had experience in attempting to analyze these reports, either for the purpose of study, or simply for information in regard to the condition of a given city, to say nothing of making comparisons, must have come to the conclusion that the task was almost hopeless. During the past ten years, however, there has been considerable improvement, and, in fact, satisfactory illustrations of what can be accomplished are now in sight, so that we see that the work is not a hopeless one; but we can proceed much farther than we already have.

One of the great dangers, to my mind, is in attempting too much. It may be illustrated, for example, from the manual of instruction for classifying the accounts of all the institutions of one of our states—not that of Massachusetts, however. It is provided, in the first place, that all the statistics shall be classified under salaries and wages, food, clothing, laundry expenses, heating, light, medical supplies, stationery, printing, amusements, instruction, household supplies, furniture and bedding and so on, under some seventeen main classes. Each one of these main classes is further subdivided, and if you take the expenditures for "amusement-instruction" in stated institutions you will find orders given that the expenditures shall be entered under the following headings: "Accordeons, aquariums." Then I will pass down the alphabetic list until I come to billiard-balls, billiard-chalk, billiard-cloth, billiard-cues, billiard-cue tips, and then a general classification of billiard-tables. Under birds, we have first birds, and then separately, bird-cages, bird-baths, bird-food and bird-seed. Then there is provision also for any number of kinds of fishes and fishing and fishing-hooks and lines, etc. Now this is an extreme illustration, but not so extreme that the illustration is unwarrantable.

In devising a scheme, therefore, it seems to me that it is necessary to go somewhat slowly, as I think the League has done; but in doing this I should think that it was very desirable to make a pretty emphatic caution with regard to the danger of any comparison. It is desirable, of course, to have some uniform scheme if cities are going to revise their system of accounts according to some classification. It is desirable to have some ideal in sight, so that in the future when comparisons are possible, the work will be facilitated; but I think that there has got to be a great deal of anticipatory work in each city in reorganizing its own accounts before any comparison whatever is justified.

Take the different political growth of our different cities and the different political units that are comprised in them. The city of New York to-day is made up of many different corporations, and their accounts have not been solidified upon an intelligent basis, in spite of attempts made in New York

city, so that you are not justified in taking the accounts or statements which are given for expenditures for any one single purpose and using it for comparison with others. Mr. Chase has spoken of the peculiar relations of the City of Chicago. Many cities have accounts with counties that it is almost impossible to separate. There are metropolitan boards. Even the accounts of our own City of Boston are coming into confusion, as far as purposes of comparison are concerned, because certain expenditures formerly performed directly by the city have been carried over now to metropolitan accounts, and that movement is likely to go on more in the future. Unless, therefore, you know the political history of every city and its peculiar form of constitutional government, comparisons are extremely unreliable.

Again, in making any comparison you would wish to know what you have got for the service. I may illustrate this, for example, by the attempts to compare the cost of electric lighting in different cities. That is a subject which interests, of course, the citizens. Many committees are appointed to investigate this subject, not only in regard to securing lower rates from private corporations, but also raising the question as to whether the municipality should enter upon that public service, and we have had many lists of the cases of comparison of different cities. For the most part they are worthless. The question is in regard to the amount of service rendered by these different cities. Do the lights run all night, or not? For how many hours do they run? How are they situated with regard to being in classes, as in some western cities, or being separate? Do they run over a sparsely populated area, or are they established for densely populated cities or towns? Then, when it comes to comparing them with cities, a mistake is often made because the superintendence which the city supplies for its water-works is charged up to its water-works and no superintendence whatever for the electric light. The same with the fuel account. So that, for the purpose of comparison, you cannot arrive at very satisfactory results because you do not know whether you are going about the same thing or not, and you do not know whether your results are the same.

This leads me, then, to another point which bears upon this whole question of municipal accounting. That is as to results. It seems to me the League ought not to be content with simply drawing up a classification of the expenditures. I do not know enough about the history of the work of your Committee to say just how far this subject has come under your consideration, but it cannot stop with this. It seems to me that statistics relating to the life and health of a community are, after all, the main statistics with which all these expenditures are to be coördinated, and are of the principal concern. It is of far more importance that we should know that than know just how our expenditures compare with those of some other city. It is not necessary for us to show that we have a greater or less expenditure compared with New York or Philadelphia, and then draw conclusions that we have been economical or extravagant; that is not the question. The question is what the city gets out of it. Large expenditures are justified if you get large returns for community life, and if it reduces the amount of private expenditure.

It seems to me, therefore, that the League should make efforts to secure uniform methods with regard to its vital statistics. I believe that that is a field that can be worked to advantage because you are not bound up there with a system of accounts of long standing, to which of course auditors and comptrollers have become accustomed; which have been traditionally incorporated into the reports of the city. We ought to secure some uniform system with regard to estimating population, in order to make reliable these per capita results which are being tossed around the country in our newspapers as to the cost of things. I do not know that we appreciate the looseness of these estimates. I have here a few examples from some of our largest cities. In 1899 the City of New York estimated its population at 3,500,000. A year later the census showed but 3,437,000. Chicago estimated its population in 1899 at 1,850,000. The census showed it at only 1,700,000 a year later. Cincinnati in 1899 estimated the population and calculated all its percentages and rates on a basis of 415,000. A year later it proved to have only 325,000, or 20 per cent less. Now, as our census comes infrequently, once in ten years, it is very easy to raise these estimates. Cincinnati has already nearly got back to its previous amount in two years since the census. It had to accept the census of 1900, but it is making a very rapid recovery. If we are going to undertake comparisons for a given city, even from one year to another, we ought to insist that some uniform system of estimating should be adopted in order that these comparisons should be at all serviceable.

Again, we should try to secure a uniform system of classification of the causes of death. I am perhaps wandering a little from the main topic which seems to have engaged your attention this afternoon, that of uniform accounting, but I regard many of the expenditures as closely related to public welfare and health. We need to know how far all these things are related to the life and health of the community, and unless we can insist upon some greater uniformity in this respect we have no datum line, nothing by which we can test these expenditures—these expenditures for parks, these expenditures for our streets, expenditures for our playgrounds, for our libraries—unless we can get adequate statistics of health and mortality and crime.

There is another thing that is within sight, that is practicable, and that is the attempt to secure greater uniformity in the dates at which reports shall be rendered or the times which the report shall cover. Out of 135 cities which made reports to the Department of Labor, covered in the Annual Bulletin now published by the Department of Labor—of the 135 cities reporting last September, having over 30,000 inhabitants, all but thirteen cities did have a uniform year of record. I do not know how it is in the City of Boston at the present time, whether all of our departments cover the same year or the same period or not. I rather think they do. But I know a few years ago that there was a variation in many cities so as to make four or five or even more department years—fiscal years for different departments. The process, therefore, of making comparisons is extremely difficult, particularly when you come to find that departments are arbitrary about changing their years, and apparently without reason and without notice, almost without notice in their

report, will change the year, so that the results which are given in the reports are entirely at variance with those that have preceded.

These are a few of the suggestions or thoughts which I had in mind in regard to this subject. It remains for the city officials to arouse interest in this matter. In many questions we can depend upon the public to arouse interest—the public feel an interest. Although the expenditures of the City of Boston are larger than that of many railroad corporations, there is not the pressure brought to bear upon the taxpayers, who are the investing stockholders, to secure luminous reports, that there is, for example, on the part of a stockholder in a railroad, who insists on having the accounts rendered so that they can be understood. We do not feel the pressure in the case of a municipal corporation. The public are apparently content to pay almost any taxes or to allow the expenditures to go in any particular direction without very much question, except at infrequent periods when there will be some sort of upheaval or revolt from existing conditions. But if the officials will once present these things in intelligent form so that citizens can understand them, I am sure that there will be a great interest. That is seen from the experience of the past few years. I am sure you will all acknowledge that the editorials with regard to municipal expenditure, the amount of space which is given in our newspapers with regard to this subject, since we have had this improvement in the classification of our accounts, have drawn greater attention to it, and through the efforts of such bodies as your own the improvement has been enormous. The interest shown, I think, promises well for the future and should encourage any official who is willing to go further in this direction. [Applause.]

MR. WOODRUFF: I have just received a letter from the representative of the Ohio Board of Trade, Mr. Allen Ripley Foote, who advises me that the Board's public accounting bill has just been passed and is now a law.

THE CHAIRMAN: Hon. Harry B. Henderson, of Cheyenne, Wyoming, the State Superintendent of Accounts, is present, and we would be glad to hear what he may have to say upon this subject of municipal accounting.

HON. HARRY B. HENDERSON: *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,* I do not think there is any one here this afternoon who is not convinced fully in his own mind that uniform accounting is the proper thing for Boston, for Massachusetts, for every state in the union. You have seen the illustrations, you have examined the statements that have been passed around, and I am sure that you must feel convinced. I come from a state where we have had practical results. I have followed this business for quite a number of years, so that I know that much good can come from a system of this kind, provided it is rightly handled.

In discussing uniform accounting at this time, I realize that much I may say is familiar to my hearers. There are particular departments of government that must be established under every charter, in order that the corporation may be given life and an impetus to move forward. How well these,

departments are governed, depends not wholly upon the officer, the people must share a portion of the responsibility. They are responsible for the nominations made and the election of the officer. If the officer's administration proves successful, the glory and praise belong to the people as well as the officer, and if a failure, it reflects disgrace upon both. There is a disposition to confine criticism for wrongful acts to the officer, while as a matter of fact the people are to blame for selecting one who has not the moral stamina to withstand temptation, or the ability to conduct the affairs entrusted to his keeping with discretion. The first principle that should characterize any government is the selection of honest, intelligent, prudent individuals, men whose character is above reproach, and whose training has fitted them for the business they are called upon to perform. Such selections can only be made by an undivided effort on the part of the people.

These are days of specialties. In every department of the commercial, professional or scientific world specialists are sought for. Why then should we not have specialists to conduct our governmental affairs? The question of introducing reform measures cannot be successfully introduced through any man or any officer. It lies with the people, and when the people put their shoulders to the wheel and all with one accord "push," the desired reform will move and in the right direction. One of the reforms particularly desired by this League and its members, is a method of accounting that shall be uniform, and yet so simple in all its provisions that when offered to the public it may be readily comprehended by all. There has been an expansion in the science of accounts and uniformity in the business world to such an extent, as to render it possible for the ordinary laymen to form an intelligent idea of the condition of any concern or business house making a published statement of its affairs.

In banking, railroading, insurance and commercial lines there is a uniformity of accounting and reports that permeates every quarter of the United States, each business having adopted a system peculiar to its especial requirements. This has been found necessary in order that the business might be intelligently analyzed and the commercial world informed of the receipts, their sources; the disbursements, their purposes. Without this uniformity our whole commercial fabric would be shattered, our position as leaders of business and the center of commercialism lost. Our captains of finance, when contemplating the purchase of a railroad or steamship property, employ specialists to ascertain the physical condition of the plant, specialists to ascertain the economic measures employed in its operations, specialists to ascertain the financial conditions, and specialists on the stock market. If it is profitable so to employ the specialists in commercial affairs, should not the same business prudence obtain in fiscal affairs of each department of government? The Mayor or Governor has no time to inquire into details, neither has any other department charged with duties of a fiscal nature the time to unify the accounts of public character. This must be left to the specialist appointed for that purpose. It is through his department that a system of accounting may be established, and the fiscal acts of all officers so tabulated,

generalized and summarized as to furnish to the officers and citizens a comprehensive statement of the fiscal acts of the administration.

Boston leads many other cities in this respect. Her Bureau of Statistics renders a service and is a source of information that at once becomes invaluable in the administration of her affairs. I have in my brief visit noted many of the interests that are supervised and controlled by the city government. This is simplified through the Bureau. Comparisons of administration, cost of improvements and maintenance are always at hand, and executive officers must be at fault if fiscal affairs are not wisely administered.

But, as I understand it, there is no uniformity, in statistics or accounts, between this city and others of like or less importance.

There is no method whereby the cost of maintaining departments may be compared with that of other cities. Boston can only compare the expense and improvements one year with another, and not with any other city in the state or any other state, for the reason that the classification of receipts and purposes of disbursements are entirely different. It is to remedy this defect that uniform accounting is urged. In no other way can good, clean financial administration of public affairs be assured. Such a system cannot be inaugurated by a mere concerted action of cities. It must have a definite head, a department in the state department, clothed with proper authority to prescribe methods of accounting throughout the state, and to enforce the requirements of the office relating to the classification of all receipts and disbursements. I have referred to unification in accounting in commercial lines and its advantages, and in making the statement that the same beneficial results will obtain in governmental affairs I fear no successful contradiction.

But, you will urge, in vesting the state with authority to prescribe forms, methods, and adopt rules, the home rule of cities and municipalities is destroyed; that the city becomes a subject of the state, and the state will exercise a character of paternalism in administering the city government. This is a mistaken idea. The state only assists the city to information that is essential,—information that can be depended upon for facts, figures that will not lie except in the hands of those who handle the truth carelessly, figures that are not prepared for the promotion of the cause of any political organization, but cold hard facts that cannot be misconstrued.

Wyoming was first to adopt a constitutional requirement for such a department in the executive offices of state. Its first law was enacted in 1891. The office became effective in 1892, and after ten years' experience the state takes pleasure in commending it, and urges upon other states the creation of the office of Examiner of Public Accounts, granting to the Examiner such powers and authority as will enable him to perform the duties for which the office is created.

The office of State Examiner in my state is an appointive one, and the aspirant must have certain qualifications to make him eligible to appointment. His duties embrace more than an examination of receipts and disbursements. He has a supervision of the affairs of every fiscal or auditing office in the state. He must examine all accounts from which disbursements are made,

and may make such inquiry touching the purpose of the expenditure as may seem necessary, even to summoning witnesses and compelling them to testify under oath. At the time of the creation of the office, county and municipal affairs, as well as the management of state institutions, were conducted in a manner that did not reflect credit upon the people or the officers in charge. Debts were created without regard to benefits to be derived or hardships to be endured. There was no system regulating expenditures, and consequently a floating debt was incurred annually, and with a rapidity that was alarming. Some of our people believed that public affairs should be regulated with the same business prudence that characterized successful private interests, and without controversy or campaign secured the adoption of the law that we are proud of. Through its administration has come order out of chaos, a financial condition second to no western state, and an administration of public affairs that has been void of peculation and theft; an administration that reflects honor upon the people as well as the officers.

Since 1894 we have been upon an absolutely cash basis in every department of government. There has been no increase in public debt in the form of bonds, except it be to increase the supply of water to a city or town or provide schoolhouses for the education of the young. The majority of our counties are now paying their bonds as they mature, and the state is also reducing its bonded debt. In ten years Wyoming will be practically without a public debt. Our new improvements outside of water-supply are being paid for by direct taxation, thereby avoiding interest and a debt for posterity. These are the benefits of a business administration conducted under state examination and uniform accounting. No state, city or village can afford to defer the adoption of a department of accounts and statistics. The benefits that will be realized are beyond conception and will exceed your highest expectations.

Give the people an opportunity to become intelligently informed as to the use that is made of their money. Give the obstructionist and the parasite of society an opportunity to witness the good that is being done. It will overcome their prejudices and make them better citizens; there will be less inquiry as to "Where do I come in on this deal?" They will know they are sharing the benefits enjoyed by all others, the pessimistic view will be relegated to the past, and new conditions taken on will make the citizens and officers of every city better morally, spiritually and financially.

Massachusetts' opportunity, Boston's opportunity, to establish uniformity in accounts is at hand. Your Legislature is in session. You have all the other requisites to make your people good and loyal citizens. Give them complete uniform accounting. Make the Bureau of Statistics of Boston the Bureau of Statistics of Massachusetts, and you will have that which alone you now lack.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are a few moments more which may be devoted to discussion upon topics pertinent to this afternoon's papers, and after that there will be a few moments to resume discussion upon the papers of this morning, which by consequence of want of time we were obliged to omit. Is Mr. Howard C. Beck, of Detroit, Michigan, present? Mr. Beck is the

Deputy Controller of his city. We will be glad to have him speak upon this subject.

MR. BECK: I hardly knew I was to be called upon. I came rather to listen, to get some new ideas, and to learn something that I could take home and possibly use to improve our system of conducting municipal business. I was very much gratified, however, after Dr. Hartwell's article, to find that we had already adopted some of his suggestions. I think possibly the credit is due to him, however, for this reason: A number of years ago when I went into the Controller's office, after some examination of the accounts and reports, I found them to my mind very unsatisfactory—unsatisfactory for the reason that they gave to the ordinary citizen practically no information. The stockholder, the man who was putting up the money to conduct affairs, couldn't tell anything about where his money was going. In fact, it was almost impossible for even a city officer to understand the report unless he was thoroughly familiar with all the details of the business. Expressions were used, terms were used, language was used, in the preparation of the report and in the classifying of the accounts, that ordinarily you would not know what they meant, could not tell what they were for from the title. So I began to look around to see if the thing could not be improved, and to that end spent a good deal of time getting up schemes, as you might call them, for their improvement, and getting statistics of one kind and another. Some of the older officials and some of the clerks of the department said at different times, "You are a fool. What do you want to spend so much time worrying your head about this thing for?" I said, "I don't think so; I think it is all right." They said, "The public won't appreciate it; you won't hold your job any longer if you do do it." But I went ahead, nevertheless, and I think the results that have been achieved and the information that we have obtained from the results have been very satisfactory, and have fully compensated me for all the labor and time that has been expended upon them.

I brought along with me a few of our last reports and some other literature that I thought might be of interest to some of you. I would like just to mention the Controller's report very briefly, and the way that we classify it. I have not been able as yet to utilize fully the scheme that the committee has elaborated here, but possibly another year we shall be able to improve still further the arrangements that we have now, and I hope in the course of time, possibly after some needed legislation may be secured, to adopt it generally. But the tables we have prepared now are along that line. For instance, in this way, there is first an analysis of the receipts and disbursements by aggregates. Then taking the receipts classified as we have them there, the general tax levy, special assessment, fees, sales, labor and material, sales of bonds, interest, etc.; and the corresponding classification under disbursements—maintenance, improvement, public debt, interest, investment, etc. Those appear in aggregates and then also itemized in detail, carrying out practically the scheme that has been outlined here, only under somewhat different headings.

We have one feature in Detroit that does not, I think, prevail in all cities,

and I have heard it criticized very strongly in some quarters and commended in others. That is the feature of funds. Each department has a fund under its charge. Take, for instance, the Fire Department. Instead of having one general city fund under which all of the moneys are paid, there is an appropriation made for the Fire Department that constitutes a fund, possibly five or six hundred thousand dollars. The same for parks, the same for schools, the same for police, and those funds are not permitted under any circumstances to be overdrawn. The appropriations are made up, and I have the form here of submitting our annual budget. Prior to 1897 or 1898, I think it was, the annual budget was sent in to the Council for consideration, and simply embraced a list of items; no tabulation, no comparison, nothing to show how much was asked for last year for that class of expenditure, how much was spent or appropriated, you couldn't tell anything about it. In fact, it was a pretty hard thing to tell from the reports, even going back to the books, how much it was. There wasn't any record kept; you could simply tell in the aggregate.

So we have finally conceived the scheme of submitting it in this shape. It shows all the items,—how much was asked the year before, how much the year before that, how much was appropriated for each year, how much expended in each year; and then, thinking possibly that that information might not be all that would be desired, there is a set of tables that covers all expenditures itemized for a series of ten years; so that all the information that the Common Council could possibly have in order to give it light on the making of the appropriations was contained in this volume. We have gone on the principle that the Common Council, the Board of Estimates, which only meets once a year in a consideration of the budget, and the public in general, were entitled to all the information we could possibly give them. There was nothing to be covered up. When an appropriation was asked for, every possible light that could be shed upon it as to the necessity of the appropriation, the desirability of it, and whether it was a proper amount or not—we felt that they were entitled to have that information; and we have worked along on that line.

Growing out of this publication, and as a source of information that was frequently asked for, as to whether our Fire Department cost as much to run as in Cleveland, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Pittsburg or Buffalo, we prepared another table. The members of the Common Council and Board of Estimates at different times attempted to get information along that line. It was done in a very superficial manner and was often inaccurate. We got up a book of comparative statistics, taking in ten of the cities of the United States, going into all the departments, the amount of salaries paid, the salaries paid different city officers, those paid to school teachers of different grades, to firemen, lieutenants, engineers; the same in the Police Department, the patrolman, lieutenants and captains, the number of arrests, the number of fires, the amount of fire loss; and, in the Board of Education, the number of scholars to each teacher, the total enrollment, the average attendance, and hundreds of questions of that character that were interesting, were valuable, and

which very much more than compensated for the amount of labor that was put upon it.

A great deal of this information we had a good deal of difficulty in securing. I am very firmly convinced that there are some errors in the book. Of course it is impossible when you are working with the officials of other cities, and the conditions are different, to get everything on the same basis; but we have tried to confine our statistics to such narrow lines that the expenditures should be almost the same, that is, under the same general class. It wasn't possible to have a very wide divergence. We have seen some very complimentary notices throughout the country of this publication, and some very strongly criticising it. Some Jersey City papers claimed that the statistics were inaccurate and untrue and the reports false, and of course the criticism was based very largely on the report of their own city. I immediately wrote the editor of the paper and told him that practically all the information came from the Controller of Jersey City. I showed that the figures of their public debt were the figures given by the City of Jersey City when they sold their last bonds in New York only some six or eight weeks before, and I presumed figures emanating from the Controller's office were accurate. We had no reason to believe they were not.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now there will be, during the half hour which will elapse before the time for adjournment, an opportunity to resume the discussion which was abridged this morning, upon the general subject to which the papers of this morning were devoted.

MR. HORACE E. DEMING, of New York: Before we take up the morning discussion, I want to make a motion in regard to this Committee and its work. It has made a partial report, and before making the formal motion to continue its work I feel as if a tribute of appreciation was due to this Committee for the admirable, intelligent and progressive work it has done on this very difficult subject. There never has been—not to speak of a uniform municipal accounting—there has never yet been a municipality in this country that gave anything like an intelligent and complete accounting of its own doings; and there never has been, and there is not to-day, a city in this country that keeps its accounts according to any schedule which enables its citizens to understand local finances. Our Committee found absolutely nothing to build on but chaos and universal disorder. In the course of these two years it has not only begun to bring some order out of the chaos, but it is reasonably certain that any intelligent local fiscal Controller or Auditor who chooses to do so can, by the aid of this Committee's work, render accounts to the citizens of that city which intelligent people can understand and which will be real accounts.

The importance of continuing this Committee's work I think must have been impressed upon any one who has attempted to secure any change for the better in the public financial management of the town in which he lives. A large part of the municipal policy at the present day must be determined one way or the other, according to the intelligent understanding of the finances involved in that policy. Mr. Chairman, you and others who are from New

York City know that three years ago or thereabouts we nearly lost the control of our water-system and nearly turned over that gigantic service to a private monopoly, and the worst kind of a private monopoly. Perhaps, however, it may be news to those here who are not New Yorkers to know that it took months of patient investigation into the finances, the books, if you may call them books—the scrap-books—of the Controller's office of that city, to find out whether or not the city had made or lost money, or had earned expenses in its water-system; and it had to be done, not on the initiative of any local official, but on the initiative of business men who felt that they were entitled to know whether the water-system of New York was a public burden or not. I will not describe or characterize the accounts, but at the end of the time we came upon a most extraordinary condition. We found that New York was making money out of its water; and not merely making money, but that, given any particular extension of the water-system in New York, by the time the citizens began to use it to its full capacity they had paid all the expenses of maintenance and had turned into the City Treasury enough to wipe out all the bonds that had been issued, with all the accumulations of interest. That was news to the City of New York, and it was news to the financial officers of the City of New York; and we proved it by simply making up an ordinary set of books, that is all.

Recently an effort was made to ascertain in the City of New York the actual financial relations of the surface railway companies with the city. Not a difficult thing, Mr. Chairman, whether they paid their taxes or not, whether they were in arrears for other payments or not, how many suits were pending for arrears of taxes, how much was in dispute, and a number of other simple questions. We went to eight or ten different officers, and no one anywhere could give anything but a scrap toward this information. There was no one place where we could find out the facts this important matter.

And so, Mr. Chairman, not merely in recognition of the admirable work that has been done, but in the hope that we shall accomplish something even greater, I want to offer this resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics be authorized to continue its work, and to report with its recommendations to the next meeting of the League.

The motion was put and carried.

MR. GEORGE L. FOX, New Haven: I want to know whether anything can be added to that motion, whether it can be discussed, or if there is some other topic coming on for discussion.

THE CHAIRMAN: If a simple motion is to come, the chair will entertain it.

MR. FOX: The question is simply this—it will take but a few moments to outline it. I think it is very desirable that this work should go on not only in connection with the annual report but also with monthly reports to the Common Council. I would like to inquire of the chairman of the Committee if he could give us information about the general practice throughout the country as to giving a monthly report, such as goes every week to the London County Council.

DR. HARTWELL: From the little I know about councils I should say no. There was an attempt made some years ago to give a weekly report of the fiscal standing and operations of the principal cities of Europe, where they have very well-organized systems of municipal statistical affairs, but how such a thing could be carried on with any means that are in sight at present I cannot see. If the Committee were required to undertake that in the course of the next year, and also to grapple with the question of what forms of statistics are now available for use or to be rendered uniform, I think they would all wish to resign.

MR. FOX: I do not wish to put any burden upon them, only I wish to say this: For the last ten years anybody who visits a session of the London County Council can have put before him a weekly statement showing up to the last week before, the financial standing of that whole great community; and I simply wanted to move that the Committee report to us next year how far such a practice prevails in the United States. In New Haven it does prevail to a considerable degree. It is of extreme practical value in preventing peculation and in interesting citizens in the financial standing of the community. I fully concur in all that has been said with regard to the work of this Committee, and I do not wish to add to its burdens one bit; but I simply put in this plea for information, because all the discussion here is simply with regard to reports of what has been done after the money is spent, and if you want to prevent the unwise spending of money you must have reports as the money is being spent. That has been done steadily in the London County Council for a long while, and I believe it can be done in other places.

DR. HARTWELL: I cannot speak for other cities, but in Boston we have the Auditor's statement published every month showing the state of the appropriation of each department. There is no law that requires that to be done throughout the thirty-three cities of the state of Massachusetts, and it would only be after the result of a great deal of preliminary conference that appropriations could be secured to publish it. But the Committee, if it is continued, will be glad to look into that question and report upon it if it is allowed to report again.

DR. BEMIS: The Auditor of Cleveland prepares every two weeks the statement Dr. Hartwell has referred to and also a full statement of receipts. They are not printed, but typewritten, and the head of every department has one.

MR. BONAPARTE: Mr. Chairman, I was filled with great alarm by what Dr. Hartwell said as to the danger the League was in of losing the services of its Committee. I fear that we are illustrating that want of practical fitness for public affairs that is sometimes attributed to reformers, by working willing horses to death in this matter. It may possibly be a means of averting the catastrophe which has occurred to others, I am sure, as well as ourselves, if at the moment when we gave them more work to do we gave them a little confectionery in return for the work which it has already done; and if I had had an opportunity I would like to have moved an amendment to my

friend Mr. Deming's resolution, to the effect that the League recognizes, in imposing this additional duty, the zeal, fidelity and efficiency shown by the Committee in discharging the duty which it has already performed. And in addition to the motive I have already admitted for offering this resolution, I had a subsidiary one which might have some weight with us, although the fact that it has is perhaps a proof of our unfitness for public affairs — namely, that although such commendation is thoroughly deserved, it is nothing more than justice. I therefore, Mr. Chairman, take advantage of the opportunity which I suppose we all have now, to offer as a separate resolution what I would have offered as an amendment, namely,

Resolved, That the League records its recognition of the value of the services rendered by the Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting in the preparation of its report submitted at this meeting.

The motion was seconded and carried.

MR. BURNHAM: Do I understand that the meeting is now open for the discussion of the papers of this morning?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is. We still have a short time.

MR. BURNHAM: In Mr. Richardson's admirable paper on Philadelphia, you will remember he alluded to the fact that the city had received asphalt paving to the amount of some twelve millions of dollars from the street railway companies. I merely wanted to say a few words about the way in which that was obtained, because it illustrates the value of courageous and persistent effort on the part of a few individuals.

The twelve million dollars was not, as I think you will surmise, merely a generous gift on the part of the railway companies. When the ordinances of 1858, I think it was, were granted, street railways were an experiment. There was no thought at that time of asking for any money recompense, but in those ordinances it was provided that the street railway companies should remove snow in winter from the streets and should re-pave the street from curb to curb when required. It is needless to say that they paid no attention to these stipulations, and for many years the only way the snow was removed was by removing it from the car-tracks and depositing it upon our sidewalks. No attention was paid to the matter of re-paving streets beyond the ordinary repairs absolutely required to enable the horses to travel. But some time in the eighties some few citizens took up the question of the obligations of the street railways and insisted upon testing the obligations of the companies. After patient effort, the Mayor of that day was induced to re-pave a certain block and then seek to recover from the railway company. The lower courts decided that the railway company was obligated to re-pave with improved paving. In due course of time the case was carried to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and the Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the lower court.

Now about this time, shortly after this decision was made, the railway companies wished to introduce electricity instead of horses, and they found that their charters did not allow them to do so. So they had to come to the city for new powers, and it was for this reason that, as a sop or something

of that nature to the citizens to grant them these increased powers, they concluded to recognize what the Supreme Court had decided they must do, that is, re-pave the streets with improved paving; and they did agree to put in this paving, which cost them, as Mr. Richardson stated, some ten or twelve millions of dollars, and we now have in Philadelphia the largest amount of asphalt paving of any city in the country. But it was due to the persistent efforts of some few individuals away back in the eighties, and their determination to test the law and carry it to its fullest extent.

MR. BONAPARTE: Mr. Chairman, I was very much impressed by several matters in the papers which I heard read this morning, and more especially by two. One was the remark of Mr. Richardson in his paper that the condition of politics in Philadelphia was intimately connected with the defects of the election laws of the State of Pennsylvania—defects which the body affiliated to this League in the City of Philadelphia is, I believe, doing all it can now to remedy, and has made a start in remedying.

That appealed to me because we have had a very striking, and, on the whole, looking back on it now, a very encouraging experience in Baltimore along precisely the same line. Almost everything that was said in Mr. Richardson's paper as to the present government and the present political condition of Philadelphia might have been said for nearly a generation's space—probably for fully a generation's space, of the government and the politics of Baltimore. It is true that we were probably not robbed of quite so many dollars as the citizens of Philadelphia were robbed of, because there was perhaps not more than a third as many dollars lying around loose in Baltimore to form the subject-matter of robbery. It is probable that as many people were not cheated out of the rights secured to them by the constitution of that state and denied a just voice in the government of their city as there were in Philadelphia, because the city had considerably less than half as many people in it. But in all other respects the picture would have been a very fair representation of that picture which was before my eyes in the politics of my native city from the time when I was quite a young man until the time I was obliged to admit the question that whether I remained a young man was doubtful. And the usual explanation, and, in fact, the one that was generally given for the utter hopelessness of struggling against the evils in Baltimore, the explanation that was given by those persons who were asked to help in the work of introducing better things and who wanted an excuse for their own consciences as well as for their neighbors for not doing it, was that it was no use to contend against such evils in a state where there was such an overwhelming preponderance of one political party. Maryland was at that time regarded as a state that was certainly, inevitably, surely Democratic, without regard to the misconduct of the Democratic party in Maryland, just as at the present time Pennsylvania is regarded as the state that is practically, certainly Republican whatever the conduct—whatever "yellow dogs," to quote from Mr. Croker, the Republican party may offer as candidates.

Now there was a measure of truth in the one case, and there is a measure of truth in the other. But many of us were satisfied that the opportunities

for misrepresenting the people's will at the polls which existed under the laws which we then had, and which were fostered by the lax tone of public opinion with respect to offenses against the purity of the suffrage, were very largely responsible for the impression that the state was hopelessly one-sided, and we proved the absolute truth of that fact as soon as we got an honest election law. We were twenty years in getting it, twenty years of continuous, persistent, strenuous agitation, twenty years of repeated disappointment, twenty years of overwhelming defeats; but still at almost every session of the Legislature, conquering bit by bit, getting some little improvement in our election laws, until gradually we got a chance, as when we occupied one earthwork we commenced to move against the next, and bit by bit we conquered enough ground to give us a chance finally, in 1895, to take advantage of a great public uprising and to capture the citadel; and just as soon as we got a fair election law, then it turned out that the state which had been supposed to be so absolutely one-sided was one of the most doubtful states in the union, and it has passed from the control of one party to the other at almost every successive election.

That has been still more clearly true of the City of Baltimore. And I am convinced, from my experience for so many years in a state where the people's will was repeatedly misrepresented, as I think everybody is now satisfied, at the polls, that when the time comes—and our example, I hope, will encourage our friends to think that it will come one of these days—when the time comes when they do finally get a fair field and no favor, they will be astonished to find to how large an extent the opportunities for cheating are responsible for the overwhelming political supremacy of one party, which itself prevents any reform of that party and any reform of the commonwealth which that party governs. Because, let me say here, another thing which has been proved by our experience is that any idea of reforming a party in power within the party is the most absolute hallucination that any human being could ever entertain. A well-known gentleman once said there was only one way to reform the Democratic party and that was to reform it with a club, and that is the system you must apply everywhere to a corrupt political party in America.

There is just one other matter I was going to speak of, and although I am afraid nobody else will have much chance to speak after me, still perhaps the chairman's watch will be slow, and I will, therefore, occupy a few moments of the time that is not my due.

I was going to refer to the reference made by our friend from Cleveland to the necessity of introducing the merit system or civil service reform in some shape—a business administration on business principles—in order to justify the extension of city control to public services. I am one of those persons who regard any form of government as to some extent a necessary evil. I would always like to see the government do as little as possible, and if it is ever a question as to whether a function shall be assigned to a public or a private agency, my disposition is to prefer the private. But I endeavor not to be a doctrinaire on that subject or on any other, and I think that it is a ques-

tion which must be determined by experience as to what shall be the proper extension of functions on the part of each branch of the government. Theoretically there is no particular reason why the business of the post office should any more be a government function than the gas or the express companies; but, as a matter of fact, probably because in old times the government opened the letters which they carried and read their contents, it has been the established custom of all countries to treat the mails—the carrying of letters—as a government function, and it may be that the time will come when the providing of light and power and transportation facilities will be in like manner regarded as government functions. But there is one thing absolutely certain—that they will become a source not merely of prodigious expense and waste, but of the greatest possible demoralization to the government, unless simultaneously with any extension of its functions there is an application of business principles to the duties which they may thus assume. If the only result of acquiring the control of the street-car lines, for example, would be to make their motormen and conductors public officials of the same class, and chosen in the same manner and holding by the same tenure as those of many other minor officials in those municipalities where the merit system has not been introduced, it would certainly be a tremendous public curse.

I think it may not be altogether appreciated to what extent the spoils system actually applies in the organization of public service companies in many cities. I know in many places the nomination of conductors on the street-car lines was actually vested, by a sort of contract between the boss and the promoter or officers of that company, in the boss. At all events, his recommendation usually was decisive in securing a place for the person sent there. But while that existed, and was and is a great source of demoralization in the politics of many cities, the companies have been careful, for their own interest, to restrict it within such limits as would not interfere with the efficiency of the service itself. With the city in charge we would have that evil without the motive for its limitation, and the consequence of that is so painful that I do not think, at the conclusion of our proceedings, I ought to impress it on your memory. [Applause.]

The meeting then adjourned.

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION

Pursuant to adjournment, the League met Thursday evening, at 8 P. M., at Huntington Hall, with the Hon. Charles Francis Adams presiding officer.

THE CHAIRMAN: My share in the evening's performance is a very simple and a very pleasant one. This is not a meeting of the League; it is simply a meeting where we are to listen to the President of the League. I therefore have the pleasure simply of introducing to you the President of the National Municipal League, the Hon. James C. Carter, of New York, who will address the meeting. [Applause.]

President Carter then delivered his annual address as President of the National Municipal League. (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The orator of the evening having finished, the meeting will now stand adjourned.

FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

PIERCE HALL, CAMBRIDGE, *Friday, May 9, 10 A. M.*

MR. WOODRUFF: President Carter has a long way to come this morning, and in his absence I will say that the papers this morning will be as announced on the program, with the single exception of Mr. Philbin's paper, which for reasons then explained he read yesterday morning. We have three papers this morning, all of them of a practical nature, and it is hoped after they have been read there will be a full and free discussion of the subject matter which they bring before us. The first paper will be on "The New York Situation" as it presents itself today to a man who I presume is as well if not better qualified than any man in this country to interpret it. I refer to Dr. Albert Shaw, Editor of the "Review of Reviews," who will now read his paper.

Dr. Shaw then read a paper on "The New York Situation." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper will be by Mr. George W. Guthrie, upon "The Pittsburg Victory."

Mr. Guthrie then read a paper on "The Pittsburg Victory." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next and last paper for this morning will be on "Charter Legislation in Massachusetts," by Prof. Joseph H. Beale, of Harvard.

Professor Beale then read a paper, on "Charter Legislation in Massachusetts." (See Appendix.)

MR. WOODRUFF: There are several items of business which I would suggest be dispatched before the meeting is opened for discussion.

MR. BONAPARTE: A resolution was offered yesterday at the meeting of the League by Mr. Richardson, which has been considered by the Executive Committee at a meeting this morning, and I was instructed on behalf of the Committee to report it back to the meeting of the League this morning, with a recommendation that it pass, and on my own responsibility I propose a very slight verbal amendment. The resolution as introduced is:

Resolved, That the Committee on Instruction in Municipal Government in American Educational Institutions be continued, and that it be requested to take such action as it may deem practicable and best calculated to promote and facilitate the teaching and study of the essential principles of good city government in our public and private schools in American cities."

The Executive Committee recommend the adoption of that resolution. I suggest an amendment which I think will probably not be disapproved by the original proposer of the resolution. It is to substitute "municipal" for

"city" before the word "government," and to omit the words "in American cities."

The location of the schools hardly seems to render it any the less desirable that the principles of good government should be taught in them, since the essential principles advocated by this League can be applied in large measure in the government of towns, villages and other inferior or humbler municipal organizations, and to avoid any possibility of question as to the scope of it, I also suggest the substitution of the word "municipal" for "city."

MR. WOODRUFF: In seconding this resolution I should like to say that the report of this Committee, of which Dr. Drown, President of Lehigh University, is Chairman, is unusually comprehensive. Last year the Committee presented its first report, which consisted of a series of outlines for general use. This year it has gone still further and elaborated these courses, so that professors and instructors in smaller colleges will have a good working basis upon which to proceed, and, while the report was only informally presented at the session of yesterday morning, it is in a shape where it will be of very great assistance. Two thousand additional copies of the last report were very quickly utilized, and during the year have been a source of a great deal of influence, and I am sure that the second report, which needs only the final touches of the editor, will be a still more valuable contribution to the subject. I hope this resolution will pass unanimously, so that the Committee, which has done such good work thus far, will have the opportunity of doing still better work in a still broader field.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the resolution originally made by Mr. Richardson. Do I understand Mr. Richardson as accepting the amendatory suggestion of Mr. Bonaparte?

MR. RICHARDSON: Yes, sir.

The question of the adoption of the resolution as amended was put and unanimously carried.

MR. DEMING: If it is in order, I have a resolution here to be referred to the Executive Committee, which I trust will meet with favor.

Whereas: The question of the nomination of candidates to public elective office is of great importance;

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorized to appoint a committee to consider the subject of nomination reform, and report the results of its investigation and its recommendations to the next annual meeting of the National Municipal League.

I venture to add very briefly one or two considerations, not as to the importance of the subject, but as to the timeliness of the League now taking action. Of course every student of municipal political history has been impressed more and more by the necessity of finding some way of getting rid of the present incongruous, inadequate and unjust method of nominating candidates for public elective office; of restoring in some way, or, if not restoring, of creating some means by which such candidates really represent

ideas, represent men, and do not represent a boss or a machine exclusively. In municipal elections the field for this reform is now ripe. During the last ten years efforts have been made in many states to secure some change in these methods within the party lines, and public opinion has been wonderfully educated as to the importance of this subject. Now in our own particular field, that of municipal betterment, where we hold as a fundamental doctrine that matters of national politics have no proper place, we have a peculiarly fine field for presenting, after due consideration, a scientific, fair, absolutely democratic method of attacking and, as I believe, of solving this problem, for we shall not be embarrassed by the effect which our solution may have upon either of the great national party machines.

MR. JOHN DAVIS, of Detroit: I took great pleasure in listening to this motion, and I take pleasure in seconding and supporting it. The first problem, it seems to me, in the whole question of recovering to the people the election of their choice is in this very matter of the primary. We have been for many years losers of our franchise. In some cases perhaps losers of only one-seventh, or one-eighth, or one-tenth; but still we have not exercised what are supposed to be the inalienable rights of an American citizen. We have not been able to go to the polls and express our choice for a candidate, simply because the initial movement was made by a coterie of party managers. Perhaps their motives were honest, their desires for the best interests of the country. At the same time it has been impossible under the system for the average man, busy and leading a strenuous life, to express his will at the polls for the reason that the slate was made before. It is very easy but it is idle to say that Tom Johnson could break any slate. Tom Johnson might be capable of doing that very thing, because he has had a great deal of experience in breaking a good many other things; but the average business man cannot accomplish that without giving more time than is at his disposal. I take pleasure in seconding the resolution. It is not necessary to enter into the necessity or the reasons or the course to be pursued. That will be left to this Committee. But the principle is right and desirable, and I take pleasure in supporting it.

The question of the adoption of the resolution offered by Mr. Deming was put and the resolution was adopted.

MR. WILLIAM G. LOW, of Brooklyn: At the request of the Executive Committee I take great pleasure in offering the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Cambridge and Boston hosts of the National Municipal League at this its annual meeting be heartily thanked for their cordial and generous hospitality. [Applause.]

The question of the adoption of the resolution was put and was unanimously carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is some little time to elapse before luncheon, and that time will be occupied by an opportunity for general discussion.

MR. FOX: I am glad there is to be an opportunity for discussing the points of Professor Beale's very interesting paper. As a citizen of "the land of steady habits and wooden nutmegs," I may take exception to one or two of

his statements, although in a kindly spirit. I think the granting of the sixty charters to the cities in Connecticut was a very wise step. In 1784, I think, or 1785, in the case of New Haven, the Mayor was made General Burgomaster, and is now, and in thirty years we had four excellent Mayors. Two of them died in office. I should be inclined to say that the form of charter government given to New Haven at that time proved very serviceable for the community. It was, as Professor Beale pointed out, not a city government to take the place of a county government, but a city government within a town government, and that was afterwards attained in Connecticut by a system to which he has made no allusion, and which I suppose has not been used in Massachusetts at all, namely, an intermediary between a town government and a city government, a process well developed by the borough in Connecticut and by the incorporated village in New York, and I think to some extent by the borough in Pennsylvania. You have had the difficulties of the situation illustrated in many a town like Brookline, for instance, in Massachusetts. You have sometimes an area of say six or eight or ten square miles, and through it flowing a stream giving water-power, and immediately growing up in that town, in the center, a dense population, not large enough to demand a city government and yet requiring a different government from the outlying farms. They require lighted streets, sewage, water-supply, which the farms do not. It would be manifestly unjust to tax the outlying farms in that town for these needs of the village in the center, or of two or three villages. So we have had in very successful operation in Connecticut the borough within the town, having its officers, a warden and vestry, taxing only voters within the area of the borough; and those cities practically created in 1784 in Connecticut did the same thing, although under the name of city. Of course they have developed, some of them now, into cities of their own, and therefore the city government has supplanted the borough government, but I insist that borough government is a very desirable intermediary between town and city government.

Massachusetts has, I understand, the bicameral house, which I think, in the judgment of the majority, is a serious mistake. In New Haven we have gone back to the council of a single chamber, and I think not more than 30 per cent of the cities throughout the United States have a double chamber. It is absolutely unnecessary, in my opinion. But simply as a question of historical development, I understood Professor Beale to say that the development of the two-chamber council had come about in Boston, and I wanted to ask him what was his authority for that. If that be so, if that was the reason, I think unquestionably it was a unique development; because I think Mr. James Bryce is perfectly right in the "American Commonwealth" when he says the development of the two-chamber council was due to an analogy, unconscious or real—a desire to imitate the state government. They thought the city government must in its machinery be like a state government, and as the national government and the state legislature had two chambers, therefore the city government must have two chambers. I have no doubt that is right with regard to the majority of city charters throughout the country, and I

simply wanted to know whether in the case of Boston there is absolute testimony to that effect; that the framers of the Boston city charter were not consciously imitating, as the framers of other city charters were, but that it is distinctly shown that they were framing the upper house to take the place of the selectmen in the town government.

One other point I wanted to speak of which interested me very much, and that is his allusion to the Medford charter. It seems to me that Medford in that respect has set a most model example to all the cities of the United States. I know of nothing more absurd, it seems to me, than the requirement for qualification for membership in the council of residence in a particular ward. It can be defended in the case of the state legislature—representing a district—and perhaps also in the national legislature, but it is extremely absurd, in my opinion, to require that a man who lives in the town can only represent the particular ward in which he lives. I see constant examples of it in New Haven, and I am very glad that Medford has put into her charter that provision, which should be followed throughout the United States. Not but what it would meet with very serious opposition if put in force, and whether you could ever eradicate that prejudice in favor of having a local resident of a ward is something I cannot answer, but until we do we shall be deprived of many men of excellent character and excellent ability who would like to serve their city in the council. It is doubtless the experience of every man in this audience, I suppose, that he could name a dozen or a half dozen such men of his own acquaintance who live within the same ward, who by this arrangement can only represent that ward in council, whereas if we had the English system of taking men from all over the city we could get a very high order of men.

If I understand correctly, according to Professor Beale, the city budget has remained in all the cities in the hands of the council. Am I right in that, sir?

PROFESSOR BEALE: Yes, sir.

MR. FOX: That is a very curious thing to me. It seems to me in that respect Connecticut has gone ahead of Massachusetts. It seems to me that the system of a finance committee having absolute power and controlling all the estimates is very much better. We have had for six years now in New Haven, working admirably, the plan which was in the old charter of New York, I think, though I am not certain about that. There are seven members of the Board of Finance—the Mayor, the Controller, a member from the old Board of Aldermen and also from the Board of Councilmen, making four, and three citizens chosen by the Mayor for a three years' term of office. These constitute the Board of Finance. They make out the estimates, they receive all the reports from the heads of departments, with whatever they ask for the next year, and then, after careful deliberation, during the month of October or November they report to the Council. In the charter granted to us six years ago the Council could raise any of those estimates on a two-thirds vote. Two years ago a ward-worker in one of the city offices found his salary had been reduced. He was rather an unsatisfactory individual. He went to work and

got others to work, and they overturned the Board of Finance and raised his salary, and did several other things much for the worse. The Legislature, I am glad to say, has now given to the Board of Finance the absolute power of determining the budget for the next year. The Council may reduce the figures by a two-thirds vote, but they cannot under any circumstances raise the figures. The result of this method has been that we are having a far more economical and wise administration of the finances than we ever had before. Before that the school tax was levied and the School Board had what they pleased. Now the School Board put in their application for so much money, and the Board of Finance will cut them down \$100,000 or so, and they go through the year with economy. It seems to me that is the proper system—the financial power located in a small board and taken out of the hands of the Council.

It is very interesting in this review of the development of charter legislation in Massachusetts during the past century, to have brought out the focal points of controversy in city administration.

THE CHAIRMAN: An opportunity is still presented for discussion. Professor Beale is still here. If he is prepared with an answer to the inquiries that were made perhaps he can now give it.

PROFESSOR BEALE: There is, I think, abundant authority for the identification of the board of aldermen, or rather the mayor and aldermen, with the selectmen. In the first place, there is the express statement to that effect by the committee which, in 1815, framed one of the proposed charters of Boston. In the second place, there is the fact that the committee which framed the charter which was finally adopted named their upper board the board of selectmen, and that name was changed in town-meeting to "aldermen." And then, finally, there is the statement which still occurs in perhaps a majority of the charters that the mayor and aldermen together have the powers of the selectmen of towns.

MR. EATON: There is also authority for the same statement with regard to the adjoining state of Rhode Island. That that is true is shown by the fact that the right of the private individual to speak in town-meeting is still preserved by the right to appear before the board of aldermen, and accordingly it is still exercised in the City of Providence. That shows that the board of aldermen succeeds to the town-meeting.

MR. WOODRUFF: If there is no further discussion, I should like to make one or two remarks, if I may be permitted to speak again. This has been an exceedingly interesting meeting of the League, not only because of the papers, which I think we will all agree were of unusual excellence; not only because of the representatives, coming as they do from points as far south as Jacksonville, Florida, and as far away as Cheyenne, Wyoming—or I may say Honolulu, because we have one member here who is a resident of Hawaii—but because of the dominant note of the papers, which has been one of hopefulness. I remember very well, at the meeting in 1894, in Philadelphia, at which you were presiding, Mr. Chairman, you remarked that while it was true that the skill of the artists who had drawn the pictures was undoubtedly, the

pictures themselves were exceedingly sad and dark. But I think that period of sadness and darkness has passed away and been replaced by one of much brighter hue. While it is true that the problems are pressing and serious, and there are matters of very great difficulty demanding attention, nevertheless the fact that reasonable ground for hopefulness is furnished in these various papers is a matter for very sincere congratulation.

Then the fact that we are welcomed to a great educational institution as we have been today, is further evidence of the appreciation of the great importance of the municipal problem. I feel that we are under very great obligation for the very cordial and courteous invitation which has been extended to us by the President and Corporation of Harvard University, not only to hold this morning's meeting here but to partake of a luncheon with them, and furthermore to speak in Sanders' Theater to the students this afternoon. I think it marks a great advance, and is likewise a cause for very great rejoicing. And I might say that accompanying an invitation coming to us from one city, that of Detroit, was the suggestion from a representative of the Good Government Club of the University of Michigan, an organization composed of 1,500 students, devoted to the cause of good government, that we should accept an invitation to hold a day's session at the University of Michigan. That shows the good influence that has been exerted in this direction and which I hope will continue to be exerted in coming years; and I feel it would have been unkind to have allowed this opportunity to pass of extending our very special thanks to Harvard University for the precedent which they have established of opening their doors to the National Municipal League. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: This, ladies and gentlemen, will be the last meeting of the National Municipal League at which your president will preside. President Eliot will preside this afternoon at the meeting we shall have in Sanders' Theater; and before we take our recess, and in leaving the chair today, I desire particularly to express my great personal gratification at what I consider the great success of this gathering. First, because of the character of the papers which have been prepared and written and delivered. It is through such papers, through the evidences which they present of a thorough study of the various phases of the municipal problem, that our influence is most likely to be extended and the benefit derived from our organization most likely to be felt. These are all, as you are aware, printed and preserved in permanent form, and are distributed widely all over the country, more and more widely each year, and each year they receive more and more attention from those who are interested in municipal government all over the country. The thoughts, the ideas, the suggestions, the plans, the recommendations of this League, thus expressed and thus distributed, are documents which are now very carefully studied, and the results, where they recommend themselves, are more and more applied in the administration of municipal government.

There is another matter for gratification also, suggested by the Secretary in what he said, and that is the more and more hopeful aspect of the municipi-

pal problem, more hopeful in all parts of the country. It has been our fortune to meet this year in one of the oldest and best of cities, and where the success in municipal administration ought to be the greatest. I think I may say that we have evidence that that success is the greatest. It is gratifying to see that a city as large as Boston, one of the first cities of the country, composed now of a population differing very greatly from what it has been in past years, composed in a large extent of those who belong to what are called the laboring classes, to a very large extent of foreigners and their descendants, commonly supposed to be more or less ignorant of our institutions, a community which has lost, too, I regret to say, a very considerable element of its best population in consequence of their change of residence from the city to the country from causes which are well understood—it is most gratifying, I say, that the City of Boston should have preserved through all that time, and carried forward and advanced its ideas of good municipal government, and presented the picture which it now presents. I believe the statement made to us by Mayor Collins, that that great element of municipal misrule, that disgraceful source of municipal mischief—I mean corruption, pecuniary corruption—which in its various forms has afflicted and still afflicts many of the larger cities of the country, has been substantially driven out of the municipal administration of Boston. He says that during his term of office he has found no evidence of it. Confessing waste, confessing inefficiency, avowing that a great deal remains to be done, and that municipal government is by no means what it ought to be in the City of Boston, it is gratifying to believe that it has at least freed itself from that great and worst difficulty.

Still more gratifying is the evidence we have had from the reports of the various committees and from the papers that we have had, that throughout the country the friends of municipal improvement are becoming more and more numerous, more and more determined, more and more resolute, more and more ready to emancipate themselves from partisan and boss dictation, and take the management of municipal administration into their own hands.

These evidences are most encouraging. They show that what has been done in the past—and we claim something of a share in what has been done in the past—is reaping and receiving a full reward, and it holds out the greatest and fairest hopes for the future. Ladies and gentlemen, a recess will now be taken until 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The League met, pursuant to adjournment, in Sanders' Theater, Harvard University, at 3 o'clock p. m., with President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University, as the presiding officer.

PRESIDENT ELIOT: The hour for the meeting has arrived, although some of the members are still wandering about Cambridge. I listened with great pleasure to the excellent papers which were read this morning, and could not help thinking that the efforts of this League are strongly reinforced by

certain changes in the physical condition of cities, and the surroundings of city populations, changes which make good government in cities much more important to the welfare of the public than it was forty or fifty years ago. The urban populations, which now comprise a very large proportion of the entire population of some of our States, are much more dependent than they used to be for the necessities of life,—for instance, for water, fuel and food,—on the means of transportation and the mechanical powers of to-day.

We have seen a great increase of this dependence of each individual citizen within the last fifteen years. A few weeks ago we had a little strike in Boston. It was short, but it threatened to prevent the delivery of the necessities of life, including coal; and it occurred to a great number of people of Boston and Cambridge and the surrounding cities, that they were dependent for the instant delivery of the necessities of life upon mechanical and engineering contrivances which did not exist at all in our communities forty years ago. For instance, the entire city of Cambridge is dependent upon the delivery of coal at the pumping station for its drinking water, for water for all purposes. That is an entirely new dependence. When I was a boy there was no public water-supply in the city of Boston—absolutely none. We are dependent for all our food and drink on transportation by steam. It is impossible to imagine the supply of coal being cut off. We cannot get upstairs nowadays without the elevator, and many of the Boston elevators had only a single day's supply of coal. There are a great many illustrations of this new dependence. For instance, we have become habituated to the electric cars. Every car is dependent for motion on the supply of coal. All our means of getting about in cities nowadays are entirely dependent on coal. This dependence of city populations has increased to a wonderful degree, and hence the new anxiety of city populations for sound administration of these great material constructions and mechanical equipments on which their comfort and their very life depend.

Then, again, I think the movement which this League leads has been greatly strengthened by the development in the last ten or fifteen years of the social sense, as it stands opposite or over against the individual right—what we used to call the individual right. Those rights are undoubtedly diminishing in number, and are always subject to new restrictions. Necessarily so, because we have learned that the exercise of what we used to regard as unquestionable individual rights may become a serious injury to society at large, so serious that it must be checked by efficient legal methods. When a man comes into a street of good houses, and puts up a twenty-story building, he is within the exercise of his right as we used to understand it; but he is exercising a right that nobody ought to exercise without restraint in a civilized community. Every city owes it to itself to regulate the height of buildings by the width of the street, as is universally done in the good cities of Europe. I mention these facts because they seem to me to give what might be called a physical or material support to the efforts of this League. They are sure to make city populations more and more anxious for the sound,

business-like, safe administration of the great agencies on which the comfort of these urban communities depends.

I want to say further, partly in recognition of remarks that were made this morning in the other building, that Harvard University, like all the universities in the country, is strongly interested in the movement for municipal reform, as well as in that other great movement for civil service reform; and I am persuaded that this League and all leagues intended to promote the reform of municipal and state elections, and of municipal and state administrations, will do very wisely to enlist the academic youth of the country in the promotion of these great undertakings. The academic youth are easily interested in these reforms; and, moreover, I think we elder men and women need, for the thorough execution of the reforms we have at heart, the support and active aid of the intelligent and athletic youth. At the bottom of the successful execution of reforms of the nature of that in which we are interested will lie a reserve of physical force, at the ballot-box, in the ward-room, in the voting precinct; and I think this League and other kindred associations will have no difficulty in enlisting the service, of the athletic academic youth in just that kind of work. Many of them take very kindly to enterprises of that nature; many of them will gladly accept that vigorous or strenuous service; and to the successful prosecution of the work of this League these young men would, in my judgment, bring a very effective support and coöperation.

The first speaker this afternoon is a gentleman who not only has been active in the City of Baltimore in the support of all measures looking to municipal and state governmental reform, but he is one who has personally taken all the risks (and may I call them pleasurable risks?) to which I have just alluded, and I am sure that his influence in the City of Baltimore has been strengthened by just that capacity of his not only for sound reasoning but for sound fighting. I have the pleasure of introducing Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte.

MR. BONAPARTE: Yes, it is quite true. The work of the National Municipal League, the work of the movement which the National Municipal League was formed to promote, the work of all the societies and organizations which are properly affiliated to the League or engaged in that work, is a work of conflict. It is a work which involves dealing with bad men as bad men should be dealt with, and that is the first requisite of that work. It is a work which divides itself, however, into two branches: First, to understand how you ought to deal with bad men in a free government; second, to be ready to do what you know is right under such circumstances.

The movement which the National Municipal League was organized to promote is not a movement intended to bring about this or that change in the distribution of powers in a city government, or in the distribution of functions between the city government and the state or national governments; nor is it a movement intended to promote any one of the very many, the innumerable, theories that have been advanced in the past and are daily advanced now, to promote the welfare of society by some changes either in the mechanism of government or in the customs of the community. Those things may all or

nearly all be good things, but they are not the things which we are organized to promote. We are neither favorable nor unfavorable to changes in the forms of city government; we are concerned with its substance. What we claim is that it is not a question of form but a question of morality; that the question which confronts the American people to-day, the question which the American people are called upon to decide and are deciding in the way in which a free people ought to and will decide such questions, is the question whether, in all the grades and branches of their government, and most of all in that branch of government which comes nearest to the daily life of the people, they will have the same honesty which they demand in their private life and in their commercial or professional relations to their fellow-citizens.

In other words, the National Municipal League is one of many organized efforts that are made now to secure for the people of this country an honest government, and in such work as that there is no place to which we can turn for aid with such confidence and such reasonable hope of favorable response as to the great universities of our country. It is the business of Harvard University, it is the business of every seat of learning which is entitled to call itself a university, to aid in promoting the happiness of our country by promoting the righteousness of its citizens; and in that work those who come forth from Harvard will be ready and willing to assist, or else Harvard will prove itself unworthy in the future, as it never has been unworthy in the past, of the honor it receives from the community and of the position which it rightly holds among learned institutions in the world.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are near the end of our session, or at least of the meetings of the League. We have come here to Boston to see and hear of the best which has been discovered in this line of human endeavor, but we bring to the meeting the experience which has been gained in the same work done under various circumstances and in all parts of the country. And while there are many lessons which I think may be rightfully learned from the comparison of these experiences in all parts of our Union, there is one which, as it seems to me, is most full of meaning to those who are at once capable of reflection and in thorough sympathy with the movement which I have mentioned, and that is the fact that wherever you go throughout America, from whatever part of this great country those people come who tell us of the evils from which they have suffered in their city government, and of the efforts, more or less successful, which have been made to remedy those evils, you are everywhere confronted by precisely the same underlying causes, although there may be more or less diversity in aspect in their effects. Everywhere, in all parts of the United States, the city government has become more or less, but almost everywhere to a certain extent, affected by the same cause of evil. We find the same evils on the shores of the Pacific that we have here on the coasts of New England. We find the same things in southern cities and western cities that we find in eastern and northern cities. We find the same ills, the same maladies of the body politic, in communities that are composed almost exclusively of men of American descent, and in those communities of which large portions of the population are recent importations from other

lands; and we are led to conclude from this uniformity of suffering, and by this uniformity of experience which has been gained in efforts to remedy the evils which everywhere exist, that what we suffer from in our city governments is, after all, the deficient quality of the citizens that live in those cities. Give us American citizens really worthy to be such, really worthy of the greatness of their country, of the freedom of their institutions, of the grandeur of their traditions, and you will have good city government and good government of all other kinds thrown in, in all parts of the country.

Now we are doing a very small and humble part, a part which is perhaps hardly more than a ripple on the ocean, but a part which nevertheless has its place in the great work that is going on everywhere to bring about this immense result. It may not, I may safely say it will not, be brought about fully in the lifetime of any of those I see before me now. It will never be brought about to the full extent that it ought to be, unless indeed human nature is made hereafter something essentially different from what it has been during all the ages that man has existed. But, nevertheless, a great improvement has been made, a far greater improvement can be reasonably foreseen in the future, and whatever the temporary disappointments, whatever the labors and sacrifices involved, however little of the immense task before us we may live to see accomplished, the end in view, for one who can clearly see it with the eye of hope, is enough to justify every sacrifice, every suffering, to relieve every disappointment and to cause us to anticipate with joy the glories that are to come. [Applause.]

PRESIDENT ELIOT: Mr. Bonaparte clearly anticipates the triumph of his cause because of the steady improvement in human nature which goes on century after century, and this is clear ground of hope. But when he began he said something about our having to fight bad men in this cause. I should like to say that it seems to me that the opponents of these reforms are not always bad men, that a good many of them are very decent men, and that they just show their bad sides in the advocacy of the spoils system and in practical corruption.

Thirty years ago I went with Professor Child, of Harvard University, to attend a primary meeting in Cambridgeport. There are many here who did not know him. I can only say that he was described by a witty woman of this town as combining in his own person all the best qualities of man and woman. He was a most delightful person, full of wit and humor; but also having, on occasion, a sharp tongue. I went with Professor Child to this primary meeting because I knew he was very much excited over the cause of the moment, that he would speak warmly at the meeting, and there would be a good many rough fellows there. And sure enough there were, and Professor Child spoke with great vigor and acuteness, and finally with a good deal of direct personality; and the opposition was equally vivid, and the attack on Professor Child was keen, particularly from an eminent Irish citizen of Cambridgeport, an uneducated man who was for the moment advocating all that was worst in the administration of our city affairs. The contest had been so sharp, that when the meeting adjourned some of us who loved Profes-

sor Child got round him, fearing that he might have some trouble in going out of the meeting into the dark streets. But as we went through the entry the leader of the opposition to Professor Child approached him. I watched him with some concern, but he looked pleasant. He came up to our group, took some cigars out of his pocket, and said, "Professor, do you smoke?" and offered the cigars. "Oh, yes," said Professor Child, "I can match you in any of your little vices," and those two men were on good terms in a moment, and I don't believe there was ever anything but good feeling between them afterwards. Our Irish fellow-citizen was simply exhibiting his worst side in the meeting, and there was plenty of good human nature in him. And so I think it will turn out in the conflict which this League desires to carry on. We need not imagine that we have to contend against a great host of bad men. They are apt to be men misled, men who have taken a bad direction, not realizing the tendency. They are men who are actuated simply by some of the elementary selfishnesses of mankind, selfishnesses which are consistent with a great deal of good in the same individuals.

I noticed yesterday evening in one of the papers read before this League that the suggestion was made that if those modern leaders of human society who are called "captains of industry" would take hold of this job of municipal reform, being persuaded that their industries would get on better with good municipal government than with bad, the progress of reform would be considerably accelerated. The next speaker comes from a place where there are several captains of industry of a good deal of influence, and we were, therefore, much delighted to hear this morning how considerable a victory had been won in Pittsburg. I wish he could assure us that the local captains of industry had taken a good hand in the fight. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Mr. George W. Guthrie, of Pittsburg.

MR. GUTHRIE: I think the people of this country fully realize now the vital importance of municipal administration to the life and to the moral and intellectual development of the community, and I think they are beginning to appreciate that this question of good or bad administration does not depend so much upon the question of the distribution of the powers of government in the municipality (though that may have some effect in matters of convenience), but that it depends upon what we have heard referred to several times to-day, the existence of a proper civic spirit in the community. This phrase "civic spirit" is simply another word, another term, for patriotism. It is the way in which we refer to the perception by the people of the duty and responsibility of their citizenship in a republic as it affects municipal affairs.

The highest earthly duty which a man owes is to his country. Under God there is no other duty so close to a man as that. It is idle to speculate as to the origin of this duty and responsibility. The French philosophers found it in some supposititious social contract. Others, and to me it seems more correctly, find it in the nature of man himself. Man, so far as history shows, has always existed as a member of a community. The growth of man has been not by individuals but by races and nations. Man's development is due

to his social intercourse, to his ability to meet, and to exchange thoughts and the products of his industries, as the world goes on, with his fellow-men; and that has never been possible except under the protection of a civil government.

Therefore, as we owe what we are to our country, as we owe to our country the opportunity to enjoy in peace that which we own, as we owe to it the hope of greater development for ourselves and for those who are to come after us, so that country to which we owe all has the right, whenever its need calls for it, to demand all from us in return.

This duty and responsibility we all recognize in time of war. No right-minded citizen hesitates to risk his life and the lives of those dear to him when his country's need calls for it in defense against her public enemies; and those who have risked or laid down their lives in the defense of their country in the time of her need have and deserve the love and the reverence of all their fellow-men. Their lives and their memories are the best monuments of their countries.

But peace has her duties; and really, when you come to think of it, to a brave man it is easier to die for your country than to live for it. The continuous duties of life, calling for continuous effort, require greater persistence—often greater force of character—than the risking of our lives in a glorious effort—one glorious struggle. And the inspiration to that continuous duty—that continuous effort—is this civic spirit, and it is what we owe to ourselves, to those who have gone before us and to those who are to come after us, to whom we are bound to pass on unimpaired the liberties and the rights which our fathers gained and saved for us.

Now that duty brings to us new questions every year. The questions that were involved in the government of an agricultural country are not those which arise in the administration of an urban community. The closer contact, the closer dependence of man upon man, which exists in a city, as your President has said, the fact that we cannot live a day under modern conditions except through the service which we receive in municipal administration, shows the vast importance of those questions to us, and the strength of the call which is made upon us to meet these. And I want to say that you have the power to make for yourselves just such municipal government, such municipal administration, as you really wish. You need not think, no person observant of recent affairs will think, that it is possible to hope for good municipal administration unless the people of the city are themselves determined to have it. The profits which spring from the maladministration of a great and growing and progressive community afford a temptation to human nature that it is idle to expect it to resist, and unless you are at all times ready to defend yourselves and your rights, you will not be permitted to enjoy good administration. You might as well leave a basket of jewels in the street at night unguarded and expect to find it intact in the morning, as to think that you can live in ignorance of your city's interests, in indifference to your civil duties and responsibilities, and hope that your city government will not be

seized and its powers prostituted for the advancement of private profit at public expense.

You have the right of sovereignty. This is no idle term. The people in a republic are sovereign, subject only to such limitations as they have voluntarily imposed upon themselves by their constitutions and by their systems of life. They are the absolute monarchs and the controllers of their own destinies. The destinies of this great republic rest in our own hands; and where wrong has been—where maladministration has crept in—it has been due to the fact that people have neglected to exercise the powers that belong to them and perform the duty to their country which rests upon them. We hear a great deal about the ignorant vote and about the corrupt vote. It is sad to say there are men whose necessities have made them subject to the influences of corruption in the exercise of their divine rights of sovereignty, but it is sadder to think that there are men who are not driven by any such need or necessity, yet who have sunk so low that they use the means they have to corrupt their fellow-men, taking advantage of their necessities. I pity the man whose necessities drive him to the degradation of selling his citizenship, but I have nothing but bitterness for the men who should know better and have no such need to lead them on, and yet who simply for greed debase their fellow-men.

But beyond both these classes stands the great mass of the people of this country, who are honest in heart and mind; the power rests with them over both, and wherever it has not been exercised it is because those people have forgotten their power, have neglected their opportunities, and have failed to meet the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. It is to that class that we must look for hope, and in that class is wakening again that spirit of patriotism which I believe is never dead in the heart of the American citizen, though it may be overlaid by his anxieties in looking after his own private affairs or by the stress of social engagements; and when they really learn, as they are coming to learn, how much their country needs their help, I believe they will give it as fully and as freely as those other true citizens gave their life-blood that we might have this citizenship which we should exercise, but which we have too often failed and forgotten to exercise.

We are building a great temple of liberty. There will be a stone in that temple for the name of every citizen who lives in this country and does his duty. Will we, when we die, feel happy if we think that in that temple the stone intended for our name is rejected because it was unworthy to be enrolled among those who deserved well of their country? We who are now in the midst of this struggle will soon pass off the field, and to you, young gentlemen of Harvard and of the other institutions of learning of this country, will fall the duty of taking up and carrying on the fight to assist your fellow-men in the right. Will you, when you die, die as the beast, die as a creature who lived out his life without heart and the sense of patriotism, without having done your duty to your country and to your fellow-men, or will you rather when you die be ready to join the invisible choir of the immortal dead, who live again in lives made better by your presence? This is the choice which we all must make. We are citizens, we are sovereigns. We may

neglect our duty, we may shirk it, but it is a duty all the same, and it is a disgrace to us if we fail to meet it. It is no disgrace to a man in the urgent effort to do his duty to make a mistake. I have no quarrel or controversy with the men who honestly disagree with me on any measure of public policy or public interest, but I have with the man who is indifferent to the duties of his citizenship. You might as well expect in a monarchy to have good government if the monarch is idle—indifferent to his duties, seeking his own pleasure and profit at the expense of his people, turning his affairs over to favorites—as to expect in a republic good government where the citizens live on the same system.

And it is to the recognition of that fact—it is to the spirit of patriotism, to the perception of the fact that your citizenship carries with it a duty to yourselves, to your country, and to your God—that we appeal when we say to you that good government in your cities depends upon the proper civic spirit in the hearts of her citizens. [Applause.]

PRESIDENT ELIOT: I am sure we all feel that Mr. Guthrie has described accurately the motive with which men, and particularly young men, should enlist in this cause. It is not a calculation or a cool reasoning; it is a sentiment, a devotion, an enthusiasm; and it is in that sense that we would like to enlist in our particular cause the youth of the country, and particularly the educated youth. I remember hearing Chief Justice Holmes, or he who is now Chief Justice Holmes, describing in the next hall here the spirit in which the young men in 1861 offered their lives to the country during the Civil War. He said, "We offered our lives to the country without much thought, but just as a lover throws a rose at the feet of his mistress." That is the true motive of passionate patriotism.

President Carter and I have been presidents a good deal during our lives, and we know what a president needs very much if he is to have an effective administration. He needs a secretary. Now the next speaker advertised upon our program is Dr. Albert Shaw, but Dr. Albert Shaw requests me to excuse him to you on the ground that he has read a paper to the meeting this morning, and he authorized me, and I was otherwise authorized, to call upon the efficient Secretary of this League as the next speaker. There is everything in having a devoted, enthusiastic, successful Secretary, like Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

MR. WOODRUFF: I feel indeed flattered that Dr. Shaw should ask me to serve as his substitute. It gives me an opportunity, however, to say in public what I have often said in private, and which may in a way point a moral and a lesson. Dr. Shaw was one of the first students in this country to see the significance of the municipal problem, and was one of the first men to devote a splendid genius and a lifetime of study to its solution; and both through the paper which he first edited and then in the magazine which he subsequently edited, as well as through his books on the subject, he has served to stir up an intelligent interest in this whole subject of municipal government, the effects of which are to be seen everywhere; and, therefore, I feel a peculiar gratification in being asked to speak for one who, although young in years—although

somewhat older than myself—is none the less a veteran in the cause of decent municipal government in this country. Dr. Shaw is a college man. His work represents a college man's contribution to the solution of this subject. He comes, at least as far as his postgraduate work is concerned, from an institution which was among the first to give its attention to the study of municipal problems—the Johns Hopkins University.

There was one remark in Mr. Guthrie's address which impressed me, as it always impresses me when I hear it made, and that was the one about the relative claims of peace upon the citizen as compared with the claims of war. It seems to go without question that every man is willing and ready to lay down his life for his country, but how much more important it is, as Mr. Guthrie so well pointed out, that a man should live for his country! Several years ago, as counsel for the Municipal League in Philadelphia, I was consulting with one of our judges, who under the laws of Pennsylvania appoint what are known as election officers in the city of Philadelphia. He said, "Mr. Woodruff, I will appoint any man that the Municipal League may suggest, because I have entire confidence in its suggestions." I said, "Your Honor, you could not have asked a more difficult thing of the Municipal League than the securing of the right sort of men." "Why," he said, "what do you mean by that?" "I mean that the right sort of men are not willing to go and spend a day at the election polls." He replied with astonishment, "Do you mean to say that men are willing to enlist in the Cuban war and go away from their homes and families for six or nine months or a year, and yet are unwilling to spend a single day in the polling place for the protection of their liberties and for a free, fair and honest expression of public opinion?" And I was compelled to acquiesce that that was the case.

I am glad to say, however, that in Philadelphia as well as in other cities that condition of affairs is passing away, and is passing away partly because the college men are beginning to realize that it is quite as brave and quite as great a thing for them to serve as election officers and election watchers on election day and at the primaries as it is to shoulder a musket and march up San Juan Hill. It is a matter of great gratification when you see, as we did a few months ago in the papers, after the New York election, how a young college man who was serving as a watcher at the registration booths in New York City acted after Tammany heelers threw him out. They threw him out in the morning and he came back; they threw him out again and he came back; then they arrested him, and as soon as he was bailed out he came back, and they tried it again and he came back, and then they let him alone. That is the sort of thing President Eliot referred to as being at the foundation of this movement for good municipal government. We must have men who, in the words of those who advertise, are willing to "keep everlastingly at it." I am afraid that one reason why we have not had good government in the past is that so many of our men are willing to get together and deplore the existing condition of affairs, are willing to make an effort to improve them, but are unwilling to keep at it long enough to produce the desired effect.

A man does not go through college in one term nor in one year. It may take him three years or four years, and some, perchance, it may take five years; but the man who gives up and drops out at the end of the first term is not considered a successful man. So it is in this work for good government. A man who expects to win the whole battle in a single campaign is not the man who is going to win the great victories that are absolutely essential if right is to triumph over wrong.

The next contribution the college men can make to this cause, next to the spirit of keeping at it, is the spirit of honesty and of integrity of purpose. I happen to be a graduate of a University which for some years past has been in pleasant relations with this great institution. Although we always liked to win, whether we won or not we always felt that we had been treated fairly and decently. And it is not the number of victories that Harvard has won that has brought credit to it, but it is that magnificent spirit which is known everywhere throughout the length and breadth of the land as the "Harvard spirit"; and may that spirit be taken into all the walks of life! It is not the number of victories we win; it is the way we fight when we are fighting that counts in the long run. The greatest contribution college men can make to this question is the contribution of keeping at this work from beginning to end until the fight is won, and keeping at it honestly.

I do not believe that you can fight the devil with fire. I remember one of the most distinguished men in Pennsylvania, a man who was honored only a year ago by this University with the degree of Doctor of Laws, and at your commencement delivered an oration upon "Ethical Ideals in American Political Life," which has attracted attention throughout the country, was talking with another prominent citizen of Philadelphia on the subject of fighting corruption in Philadelphia. The latter maintained that "you must fight the devil with fire." "Not so," replied Mr. MacVeagh, "because the devil is accustomed to fighting with fire. You must hold up the cross of righteousness if you are going to overcome the forces of evil. That is what the devil fears." It is the men who have high ideals and are willing to fight for them that are going to make their mark in this country and solve this problem.

Only a few weeks ago the City of Harrisburg, a city which up to that time had been one of the most backward cities in the State of Pennsylvania, and which had been one of the most corruptly governed, elected to the office of Mayor one who is known throughout the length and breadth of this land as an old-time captain of the Yale football team, Vance McCormick. And why was he elected? He was elected because the people believed he was a man of honesty and probity and integrity, and above all things that he was able and willing to fight at all times for his ideals. He not only had his ideals, but he was ready at all times to fight for them. That which has brought credit upon the President of the United States and has made him the chief citizen of this great land of ours, irrespective of his office, is the fact that not only did he have high ideals and high principles but he was at all times willing and ready, yea, strenuously if you like, to fight for them in that spirit which is known as the Harvard spirit. [Applause.]

PRESIDENT ELIOT: The next speaker on the list is a professor of history. I should feel some embarrassment myself in drawing from history effective lessons for our guidance, because it seems to me that the municipal problems of to-day are all very new, although Rome built very durable and magnificent aqueducts. Now Professor Hart probably finds in his courses of instruction in American history plenty of types of character which we wish could be multiplied by the million to-day, and that I suppose is, after all, the best lesson of history. I was much interested in reading in Norman Hapgood's "Life of Washington," lately published, the short memoranda that Washington made about the men who in the last ten years of the eighteenth century could be thought of for Commander-in-Chief of the American army. His highest praise was given to Major-General Lincoln. How moderate we should think his characterization, but it was absolutely the highest praise he gave to any of the men mentioned! He said of Major-General Lincoln, "He was sober, honest, brave and sensible." That is just the sort of men we want for the campaign which is before us. I hope Professor Albert Bushnell Hart can tell us of many other such generations and such heroes.

PROFESSOR HART: There was in Colonial times a formal process known as disablement. Whenever anybody was elected speaker of an assembly he pronounced a polite and flowery oration explaining why he ought not to have been selected; and this would seem to be a proper opportunity for disablement. Why should professors of history assume to instruct actual, practical legislators and administrators of city government? What has a professor of history to do with city government, even if in his teaching of history he attempts to carry the lessons of the past into the immediate present, even though he tries by the errors and mistakes of our forefathers to arouse in the minds of his students a purpose to escape those errors in the future.

No teacher of history and government who attempts to set before his students high standards in public life can fail to be discouraged. I could mention out of my old class-lists one man who has been a very subservient Tammany alderman; I could find more than one man who has descended to be the confidential and trusted adviser of a corrupt boss, and I could even name one man who has become an illustrator upon the New York "Journal." Are those the lessons that students receive from Harvard college? Is that the kind of practical life that comes from a college education?

Yet, after all, a university has some place in the world, and a university professor has some function even beyond his vote; because, in the first place, the great universities of this country are to a large degree models and types of what civic government ought to be. There is a vast deal of nonsense about a city government being simply a business organization. In Cleveland they have called the heads of city departments "Directors," with the idea of convincing people that a civic government is a business corporation. When you find a corporation that does not have to make money, that does not have to declare dividends, but that does have to care for the moral interests and social interests of thousands and millions of persons, then you will find a parallel to the city governments. There are no such private corporations except the

corporations of our great universities. In them you see confronted, and in general, confronted with great uprightness and with great skill, almost the same problems as in the cities. For instance, they deal with the problem of finance. The President and Fellows of Harvard College have to-day the management of a property worth twenty-five million dollars. They have the disbursement of nearly a million and a half of dollars annually, far more than the revenue of most of the so-called cities in the United States; they have the appointment of a large number of persons, and it would not be incumbent upon me to question their judgment and their fitness for that office. They have charge, furthermore, of the social and moral welfare of thousands of young persons who are put within their jurisdiction. And what is being done by Yale and Columbia and Wisconsin and Michigan and Johns Hopkins and Pennsylvania and a dozen other great institutions in honest, capable, straightforward administration, in respect for the traditions of the past, in provisions for the future, is what might be done in most cities, if you could get the same kind of a constituency, with the same kind of interest in the success of the city, and if you could get the same type of permanent administrator.

The subject of municipal reform somehow seems to be very like the old Mystery Play, in which one of the characters is "Adam crossing the stage on his way to be created." Municipal reform is still crossing the stage upon its way to be created. We have made great advances; we listened this morning to the absorbing tale of Mr. Guthrie's (in which he carefully excluded his own personal part), that extraordinary tale of the attempt to redeem Pittsburg; there was laid before us the equally absorbing story of the redemption of Harrisburg; and both those episodes seemed like a lot of farmers getting out with their rifles to keep away a band of brigands. The people of Pittsburg and the people of Harrisburg and the people of a great many cities of the United States, with all their efforts at municipal reform, have now come to the point where they announce that if robbers actually come and plunder their homesteads they will drive them off—if they can show a clear majority of peaceful ballots on election day. The truth is that we in this country to a large degree to-day are under mediaeval conditions; and if I were speaking as a professor of history I should try to show you that the conditions of Europe under mediaeval government are now being reproduced in America.

The difficulty with municipal reform is that reform in the abstract does not attract attention; for reform requires concrete examples. I see before me a number of the students of Harvard University; and I assure the audience that there are more students than are present to-day, some of whom might have been here. Why are they not here? Because, in general, it does not occur to them that municipal government is a thing that affects them. They are tolerably satisfied with the governments of their own cities, or their fathers are satisfied; and they do not look forward to a time when they have got to step down into the arena and fight for their lives.

Several speakers to-day and at various times during this meeting have spoken rather pleasantly about the people who are on the wrong side of these

questions. I must say (as a professor of history) that when people come telling you that after all Tammany is not so bad as it is painted, and there is some hope of reforming it, I feel very much like the good clergyman who listened to a lecture on the life of the ancient Romans. The lecturer took the ground that although there was much corruption and iniquity in Rome, yet there were some perfectly straightforward and respectable people who tried to bring up their children well, and did the best they could; whereupon the clergyman arose, trembling with indignation, and he said: "Sir, I protest against this attempt to belittle the immorality of the ancient Romans." So I must protest against this attempt to belittle the immorality of the worst side of our cities.

On the other hand, nobody who goes about in the cities fails to see the essential truth of the right-mindedness of the average man, and therefore the essential hopefulness of municipal reform. Inasmuch as the plain, common, ordinary man, the man who has voted on the wrong side for years, is after all, a very human being, you have only to convince him that his own welfare or the welfare of his children is at stake, and the poor man's child is often very dear to him; you have only to convince him that, with good government, his wife will be better taken care of, that his children are going to have a better chance in life; you have no idea how the average man can be aroused!

After all, nobody, not even the Municipal League, not even Mr. Woodruff, will ever succeed or will ever attempt to succeed, in reforming city government, simply by telling people how much better government they might have for their money. There are many elements in municipal government that are not easily disposed of by promising better government. The first obstacle is the mere fun of corrupt municipal politics. Why do you suppose respectable, quiet people, who might be sitting in ease at their homes or going to the theater or playing ping-pong or in any other way wasting their time—why do you suppose that such people turn out to the primaries? I do not mean people who want office. I believe Mr. Woodruff and every experienced man would agree with me that the most dangerous man is the man that does not want an office at all, but does want to be able to dictate as to the offices. He is in a position of great strength, he is the king-maker. Why does such a man go into city politics? To a large degree from a sense of power, from a sense of controlling things. He goes into politics as another man goes into the manufacture of iron, or as still another man goes into the management of a great university, because he likes to show his ability to bring things about; and you are not going to break up dangerous conditions unless you leave some opportunity for a powerful man to come forward as a leader. If the municipal reform movement meant simply proposing measures—as we all know it does not—you never would get your measures through, and could still less affect popular opinion.

This morning Professor Beale quoted that noble sentiment from the Massachusetts Constitution, "That the government may be a government of laws and not of men." That is a magnificent protest against arbitrary government; but that sentence never meant that you could have government by

laws and without men. It meant simply that a government of laws administered by men who would observe the laws was the ideal government; that men were to act under the law; that the law was to control men and not men the law. But the law does not control the voter and the man does control; hence what I have to say to-day, a very brief message, is simply a plea for personality in local government. Great Bacon once said that "he that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great task, but that is ever good for the publice." There is no one solution for the evils of government, least of all for the evils of municipal government, so various, embracing so many different and complicated elements; but the direction in which there is the most hope is through the personality of men who will devote themselves to that work. The old saying about King Henry VIII was, "King Harry loved a man." The American people loves a man. If you will turn to the history of the United States—here I may bring in the historical allusion which has been so long delayed—you will see how many men have owed not simply their success but their influence over their fellow-men to their indomitable courage. What was it that made John Quincy Adams the strongest man of his time in Congress? The fact that he would express his mind as he felt it and that no power on earth could silence him. What was it that made John Brown of Ossawattomie a prophet, a seer and a leader? The conviction of those who knew him, and of those who never had known him, that there was a man who would go through everything for a principle. What made the strength of Abraham Lincoln? Not his surpassing wisdom, but the sense that he summed up the wisdom of his fellows, that he represented and that he led them. Unless you can give the opportunity in municipal government for such movements as that, for such influences as that, you can never succeed in purifying our cities.

Here is Mr. Guthrie. You wouldn't think to look at him as he stood here laying down those splendid principles of public life that he was a man who had rolled his sleeves up to the elbow and gone into one of the dirtiest pools of politics that ever was stirred, the politics of the City of Pittsburg. The success of the reform movement in Pittsburg is due to Mr. Guthrie and to men like him who came forward and assumed the responsibility. Mention was made of Mr. McCormick, the Mayor of Harrisburg, apparently one of the most promising men in the State of Pennsylvania. How the vistas open before him! You will remember—some of you heard it said the other day—that when "the boys" came to him and asked him to help them out, he said he wouldn't give them anything, not even a promise. Yet somehow the electors chose him, because they believed in him.

Some young men here, and a great many young men not here, have a great ambition to be distinguished. In a great university one is perhaps painfully impressed with the great efforts of students to show that they can do something. How much effort is expended in order that a man may possibly be elected upon a daily college paper! Why? Not because he is going to do work, for he will make somebody else do the work when he gets on; but because he shows thereby that he has power in him. Why,

day after day, does the oarsman put in tedious work on the slides? Simply in order to show that the man has the capacity to pull an oar. The same principle must have a place in municipal government, and in government of every kind, namely, the desire to come forward.

The experience of mankind is that principles are expressed by men,— that the great man is he who stands for a principle which his fellows recognize. Therefore one of the most efficient means of improving city government is to push forward men of power, men of weight, and men of character, who will in themselves represent a policy. A great difficulty in most municipal campaigns is that there is so little in the way of distinct program, so few individuals stand for a distinct policy. Take the case of New York City. The main element of Mr. Low's strength was that his general point of view with regard to public affairs, and especially municipal government, was perfectly well known. Mr. Low did not need to say: "I will appoint this man; I will remove that man; I will reorganize this department; I will abolish that department." Those people who had confidence in him knew that if he were elected Mayor he had it in him to do the best he knew how; and that was the best that could be attained.

I plead, therefore, in municipal government for a principle of leadership, which means both the acknowledgement of leaders and the support of leaders. No more thankless task exists in this world than for a man to give up his ease, to give up his own ambitions in other directions, in order to accept a public trust, and then to find his very friends turning and rending him because he does not instantly do everything that might conceivably be done. If you elect a man Mayor of a great city it is idle, it is wicked, for you to accept the newspaper reports that he has thrown up the sponge, that he is not going to attempt to carry out his policy, that some "influence" has got hold of him. We know that Mr. Low is a man of character, and that is why he was elected by the people of New York, and the people of New York and the people out of New York owe it to themselves and the cause of good municipal government to support a man like Mr. Low by believing in him; not believing that everything he does is right, but believing that his ultimate aims are right and that he will do as nearly right as is humanly possible.

Even if you elect a man President of the United States, or if by the act of God he is elevated to that great office, a man who has shown throughout his life honesty, uprightness and devotion to principle, he deserves the confidence of his fellow-men; he deserves that they should not believe that he makes or takes or accepts the responsibility for the murder of innocent persons; and in like manner he deserves that his countrymen should believe when he makes an appointment or a removal that he has reasons which, had you the opportunity of private conversation, he would justify.

If I plead, therefore, for personality in government, if I plead for the setting up of leaders, if I plead for the following of those leaders so long as they stand for principles even though you cannot follow them in every detail, I equally plead for the loyal support of men of character who accept such responsibilities, as representing their country, as intending to do right; and

I assert, furthermore, that the raising up, and the loyal support, of men of character as leaders, is the surest, the shortest, and the most permanent road to the ultimate reform of municipal government in America. [Applause.]

PRESIDENT ELIOT : There can be no doubt that Professor Hart is absolutely right in saying that every reform—this reform in which the National Municipal League is interested—must be promoted by remarkable persons. But there is another need of such reforms, namely, legislation which makes it possible for persons to exert their influence. Take the case of Mayor Low as an illustration. His term is two years, and there are many cities in our country where the term is one year, with liability to the disturbance of the whole municipal government because the mayor is changed just when he has learned the business. That is a condition which needs correction in our country.

A few weeks ago we had the pleasure here of a visit from the Lord Provost of Glasgow—the Mayor, we should call him. Now the municipal conduct of Glasgow is an immense achievement. The government has wrought wonderful improvements in the sanitary condition, the transportation and the lodging-houses of the city. The Health Officer of Glasgow is a most remarkable man, the first in his profession in the world, Dr. Russell. Now the Lord Provost told me here that he had held his office for fourteen years, and that, a long service being necessary to the working out of great business plans, if a municipality is really a business organization to be conducted on business principles, it should be administered by men of long terms of service. I believe this to be one of the ideals to which American politics should aspire—politics in a high sense. As another illustration of the working of our present customs, we have in Massachusetts at this moment an admirable Governor. We shall have had him three years next January and then he is to be changed. He ought to be Governor of Massachusetts for the next twenty years. [Applause.]

But, fortunately, great public service in our country, in all free countries, can be rendered by men who are not in official station, and our next speaker is going to tell us of "The Opportunities of Public Service for Citizens in Private Station." I present to you Mr. Horace E. Deming, of New York.

MR. DEMING : *Mr. President and Students of Harvard College* (because it is especially to the students that I wish to talk): The subject which has been assigned me by our Secretary is a very broad one, but the phase of public service to which I shall address myself is service to the state in the effort to influence or control public policy, to influence or control governmental action.

I suppose that the majority of ambitious, healthy-minded young Americans wish to serve their country in some office. I remember very well four or five years ago when I was a boy that it was held out to me that I might some day be President of the United States, and that I should always so conduct myself that when that opportunity came I should be fit to fill the position. There are several hundreds of thousands of public offices in the United States, national, state and local. That is encouraging to the boy. He may get a

chance. But, young gentlemen, there is a hundred million of population and there are not offices enough to go around; and then, too, of these hundreds of thousands of public offices there are only a few thousands of any particular importance as determining questions of public policy or influencing governmental action. Only one man here and there may be President, but few may become governors and there are still fewer United States senators than governors; and if we take a larger group of public officials, there are not so many of us after all who can expect to be members of legislatures or even of boards of aldermen. Moreover, there are some things connected with the methods of securing nominations to public elective office and of retaining public place that are repugnant to many; and in spite of those methods, or possibly because of them, a political career in this country, if it means continuing in public elective office, is uncertain and insecure. It is plain that most of us, young gentlemen, if we wish to render public service to our country must find some way of doing it while remaining in private station.

Now how shall we do this? How shall we do it most intelligently—most effectively? For do it we must, and do it every young man among you will, if he is worthy to live under the flag of his country.

We must remember that the struggle of the people to control the government, to be the government, is the struggle toward democracy. When the public policy of the government is the deliberately formed will of the people, and when that public policy is enforced through the chosen representatives of the people, a representative democracy will have been achieved. If you want to serve your country you must be in full sympathy with that democratic ideal. You must study your country's history from that point of view. The struggle of the people to control the government is the political history of our country. You must be on the people's side in the struggle for liberty. You must have confidence and an abiding trust in the fundamental honesty and in the high aspirations of the people. You must want the people to win. You must be willing to help the people win. And with a knowledge and a confidence born of your study of the political history of your country and of the progress of democracy, you must be sure that the people will win.

These are some of the elements which will equip an American citizen to give public services to his country in private station. Given this sympathy, given this knowledge and confidence and this desire to help, and your opportunities for public services are illimitable.

Young gentlemen, for a quarter of a century, almost without exception, every important step forward politically, whether in policy or in administration, has been taken upon the initiative of the private citizen and under the pressure of a public opinion which he has created. Let me give you two or three illustrations: The civil service reform movement—that movement which aims to dignify the subordinate civil service of our country, to elevate the holders of positions in the administrative service to real freedom, to open the opportunity for such service to every American citizen under fair conditions—owed its initiative and the measure of success already won not to any governmental officer, not to any governor or president or senator or member

of the legislature or member of any board of aldermen, but to public-spirited private citizens, and the progress yet to be made and the final victory when it shall come will be due to the private citizen and the public opinion he has created and educated.

Take any of the numerous phases of the great electoral reform movement—another movement which has its root in the desire of the people to emancipate themselves from political tyranny and bondage. Registration, an honest count of the vote, a secret ballot free from intimidation and bribery, have been won, so far as they have been won, through the intelligent effort and public spirit of private citizens and the public opinion which they have created.

The campaign now going on for free, undictated nominations to public elective office—from what source did that spring? From anybody in public office? Oh, no! It is again the private citizen. What progress has been made in this campaign anywhere except under the pressure of public opinion which the private citizen has educated? And in the great political struggle not yet begun, but sure to come, in which you young men, I hope, will bear an honorable part, for proportional representation, which means that the basis for the election of members of our legislative assemblies should be the representation of ideas, and not more or less politically gerrymandered topographical sections of the earth's surface—when that comes will it be due to the initiative of any one in public office? Oh, no! That campaign, too, will begin at the initiative of private citizens, and the persistence of the campaign and the final victory, if it ever comes, will be due to the public spirit of private citizens.

Gentlemen, this is the democratic way. It is the way in a republic to get things done. Any other way would do us no good. If we have not the vitality, if we have not the energy, if we have not the patriotism to investigate these subjects, to initiate these movements, to create the public opinion and to keep up the pressure, then we are not fit to be citizens of our common country.

The choice of a field for public service by the citizen in private station is boundless, but why go far to seek it? Why not take the home field? Why not be a public-spirited citizen in your own town? Why not do some public service in the town and to the town where you live, even if you are not mayor or director of public safety or commissioner of public works or a member of the board of aldermen? Here is a field for public service right at your very doors which will give abundant room for all your energy.

Young gentlemen, do not think that because you do not hold office you cannot be of the greatest public service to your city. Here, too, the struggle is to free the people from political bondage. Honest, progressive and efficient municipal government in this country rests upon the fundamental democratic principle of local self-government. Clothe municipality with all necessary power to determine and enforce its local public policy, give it adequate machinery for that purpose, then leave it untrammeled by outside interference and unaided by outside assistance. Leave it alone; let it work out its own problem. This is true democracy. A superimposed government is not a democratic government. The struggle of the people of the town toward

democracy — to control the local affairs of their own town — is the mainspring of the campaign for municipal betterment in this country.

Now you can help in this municipal betterment campaign. You can help in a thousand ways. You can help create or sustain a local organization that will labor to have the fundamental principles of honest, efficient, progressive, municipal government embodied in law and realized in practice. That is one thing you can do. You can join with others in watching the state legislature, which is constantly interfering with the fundamental rights of your town. And you do not need to be in public office to keep your eyes open, to call the attention of the public to the evils of legislative encroachment. New York City's water system was saved by the private citizens from the grasp of the public plunderer. New York's streets have been saved again and again by the public spirit of private citizens and their watchfulness. If there were time I could give you scores of illustrations from the history of New York City. Only this last summer a blunder of the present administration there came very near sacrificing some of the most important and fundamental franchises of the citizens of New York. Who discovered it? The watchful public-spirited private citizen who called it to the public attention, whereupon the administration publicly acknowledged its mistake and joined the ranks of the public-spirited private citizens in having the mistake remedied.

Whatever you are interested in, you can find a field for public service in the cities. Are you interested in education? Think what a vast field for endeavor there is in the educational field in our cities. Are you interested in any phase of the many-sided liquor question? Are you interested in the tenement-house question? In the problems that come from the unsanitary and immoral crowding of the poorer classes? In the administration of justice in the subordinate magistrates' courts of the cities, where the poor get their idea of American justice? Would you abate the sweat-shop evil? Are you concerned at the growing political and economic importance of our public utility corporations? And so one might go on and on. The field is simply boundless for the intelligent and effective public service of the citizen in private station.

It is the public-spirited private citizen who diagnoses the evil, discovers the remedy and arouses the public opinion which compels its application. This is the democratic way. In a democratic state it is not the government which creates public opinion but public opinion which creates the government, and it is the public-spirited citizen in private station who forms and educates the public opinion which controls the government. Never forget, young gentlemen, that you are citizens of a state struggling to realize the democratic ideal. [Applause.]

PRESIDENT ELIOT: The very interesting speech of Mr. Deming brings to a close the public proceedings of this occasion. The Governors of the University consider it a high privilege to welcome here the National Municipal League. We shall always be glad when you come hither and we shall always be sorry when you go away. We wish you a delightful dinner to-night, a cheerful parting, a bright welcome home, and a happy memory of these meetings.

APPENDIX

CONTAINING THE
PAPERS READ BEFORE THE BOSTON CONFERENCE
FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

Annual Address of the President

By JAMES C. CARTER, New York City.

The National Municipal League has heretofore held its meetings in the newer or smaller cities of our country, where municipal conditions were not so well established, where municipal evils were more sensibly felt, and where for obvious reasons it might be thought that we were able to do more good.

This year, however, we have taken a new direction. We have come to the ancient City of Boston, under the shadow of the venerable Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to the oldest and best established of our civil and political societies, and where all our political and municipal conditions ought to be found at their best. We have come for various reasons—first, because we were most courteously and cordially invited to come, and, in the next place, because it is said in other parts of the country, at least, that you think you have a very much better ordered city than we have elsewhere—perhaps the best ordered city in the country. Therefore we thought it quite possible that we might learn here some lessons which would bring to our efforts a good deal of assistance and enable us to perform the humble part which we undertake to play a good deal better.

We are delighted to have come at this beautiful season of the year, and I confess, as I walked down your beautiful Commonwealth Avenue this morning, and saw everything in perfect order, everything neat, and came upon that Public Garden bursting into all the beauty of flower and leaf, I did not wonder that you felt pride—an honest pride—in your city.

I perceive by looking at the program that I am advertised to deliver to-night "The President's Annual Address," an announcement which is calculated to convey rather an erroneous impression. One might think from that that I was coming here to deliver a very deliberate formal written address, covering all the ground of the action of the League during the past year; what

it had accomplished in the past and what it expected to accomplish in the future. That would be quite erroneous. If I had any disposition to prepare such a performance I have had no time to do it. I have just returned within a few days from a somewhat protracted journey abroad, and my time has been altogether taken up with things which have been neglected during my absence. I can only say to-night those thoughts which come uppermost on the occasion, and my fear is that they will be so trite, so familiar and so commonplace that you will wonder why you were invited to hear it.

And, first, a word or two as to the National Municipal League itself; for, as this is the first time that the citizens of Boston have made any acquaintance with it, it is proper that they should understand something about it.

The National Municipal League is an association which was organized some eight years ago in consequence of what was then universally believed to be a most desperate condition of municipal affairs in almost every state of the union. That condition was in general a most shocking one. Corruption, disorder, waste, extravagance, every form of municipal misgovernment, were everywhere exhibited. In most of the cities of the union the schools were neglected and inefficient, the streets filthy, the public buildings shabby, the police in league with crime, the municipal councils filled with corruption, taxes heavy and not applied to the purpose for which they were properly designed, and, indeed, there was no form of municipal mischief which was not exhibited. In view of the circumstance that the cities were rapidly growing in numbers and population as compared with the rural districts, and that at no very distant period of time the population of the cities would comprise more than a majority of the population of the whole country, this condition of things was one full of alarm to every thoughtful and reflecting mind. Unless this municipal problem could be in some manner handled; unless this shocking condition of things could be in some manner remedied and redressed, there seemed to be no hope for the future of the country at all.

This state of things was exciting the attention of thoughtful men, and the organization of this League was the result. It

was organized for the purpose of bringing together those who were interested in municipal affairs in the different states of the union in the form of an association which should be large in its own membership, and which besides that should be in affiliation with other similar societies and organizations created in different cities. It was the National Municipal League, to which there would be many subordinate organizations, and in respect to which it was hoped that other municipal organizations with similar objects though under different names would be brought into affiliation and into a common effort with it.

Now a word as to what has been accomplished. We have not regenerated municipal government. That you can easily

Accomplish-
ments. understand; but there are some things, very
modest things, which we have done. We have,

I may say in the first place, taken the first step, the first and necessary step, toward any municipal improvement. We have succeeded in arousing to a greater or less extent all over the country the attention of the people to existing conditions. We have turned the minds and the thoughts of the public everywhere to this problem, and the interest which has thus been awakened is sufficiently manifested by the fact that in the United States there are now something like one hundred and twenty associations in affiliation with this League and having similar objects; and of other associations in correspondence with us there are some six hundred. There is no city of any considerable size in the union which does not have from one to half a dozen societies organized for the purpose of carrying on some form of municipal improvement. This is the first step to be taken, and it is one which this organization has had a large influence in bringing about.

We have taken another step which we think quite an important one, although of little consequence unless others are taken with it. We have had committees employed for the purpose of investigating the general question, composed of professional men of the highest distinction united with men having large experience in municipal office. We have had committees thus composed engaged in the work of preparing a model charter for cities, a charter with general provisions, of course, but which by making the changes necessary to accommodate it to the

particular local conditions of different parts of the country, would serve as a general fundamental basis for the organization of cities, for the distribution of the powers of the various offices and the creation of the proper departments.

We have also been engaged in the construction of a uniform method of keeping municipal accounts of all descriptions, so that the condition of any particular city, financial and otherwise, could be ascertained by its citizens at once by looking at the facts arranged under these common statistics, and so its condition might be compared with the condition of any other city or with the condition of the same city at any past time. These two measures constitute what is known among us as the Municipal Program, adopted and recommended by the League, and which we think when it becomes understood will be to a considerable extent received and adopted throughout the United States, and will be of the greatest assistance in the general work of municipal improvement.

We have taken a third step, which I regard as by far the most important. That is to say, we have come to a conclu-

Cause of Municipal Misgovernment. *sion*—an assured conclusion so far as we are concerned—as to the cause of the municipal disorders which are so much lamented. Before any intelligent effort can be adopted in any city of the country to carry on the work of municipal regeneration where it is needed the cause of the municipal disorders must be well understood. In our opinion that cause consists simply in this: *The domination of municipal affairs by partisan or boss government*, for the two are names for one and the same thing. The cause—the principal, the remote, the ultimate cause—is the circumstance that the people choose to surrender the domination and the government of their municipal affairs to one or the other (it makes no matter which) of the great national political parties of the day.

Now, in saying that we have come to a conclusion that that is the cause have we made any new discovery? No. Any thoughtful man who at any time will look into the municipal situation, and into its essential nature, must see that such a surrender by the people of the control of their municipal affairs must necessarily be followed by the mischievous effects to which I have

alluded, and yet but few, comparatively, are really persuaded of this. Many people have thought that the trouble was in republican government. They say: "Republican government is inadequate to the proper government of our cities, and we are powerless, therefore, to relieve it unless we abandon republican government and adopt some other." Others have said that it was the enormous influx of ignorant foreigners into the country—ignorant of our institutions, not understanding our language nor our customs, naturally the tools and instrumentalities of the politicians; as soon as that immigration is over, or as soon as that element became amalgamated with the general population of the country, why we should have a better state of things. Others, again, have said that it was in consequence of imperfect charters—that our laws were insufficient; that we must have better laws—laws to punish offenses in reference to the transaction of municipal affairs—and that our remedy was to go to the legislature and have a lot of new laws enacted.

Now there is more or less of truth in all these views. That is to say, there is this much of truth in them: Our municipal disorders are aggravated; the ability of machine politicians to control municipal affairs is increased in consequence of the great number of foreigners—ignorant foreigners—who have come into the country; in consequence of the ignorance among those of our own community of the proper administration of municipal affairs; in consequence of the indifference of those who are more intelligent, but who want to take no part. There is some truth in all of this, but we think that the main cause, which must be removed before any considerable improvement can be reached, is the surrender by the citizens of the several cities of the control of their affairs to the dominance of a partisan or boss machine.

I want to say a few words in explanation of this, and to show how it is brought about. Just look, for instance, at what the condition is. The cities of the country at the present time control an enormous amount of money. There is annually collected by taxation in the City of New York for municipal purposes \$100,000,000; \$30,000,000 in Philadelphia. I do not know how many in the City of Boston, but all over the country

some \$600,000,000 or \$700,000,000 are annually collected by taxation for municipal purposes, and the control and management of that vast sum constitutes means by which those who may be able to gain control of it may enrich themselves, enrich their associates, advance themselves on the road to political fortune, and in a multitude of ways, mostly corrupt and improper, pervert those funds away from their true and proper purpose. Now that is the great prize constantly offered at every election to the people of this country—a prize which, of course, has approached its present magnitude only within recent years, which in the early history of the country did not exist at all or not exist to such an extent as to tempt persons seriously. Now, however, the temptation is enormous; it is prodigious; the force of it we can hardly measure; and this is the price which is dangled before the politician at every municipal election.

On the other hand, what are the inducements to honest men to take office? They must abandon their business; they must give up their regular pursuits, and they must devote themselves disinterestedly to the public good for little or no compensation. I need not say that, constituted as human nature is, here is a very great danger always present. Knowing, as we do, the weaknesses of human nature, is it a wonder that in the struggle for municipal office the men who want the possession of these glittering pecuniary prizes, and who know they can be obtained by the practice of unscrupulous means, will get the better of men who do not care to have the possession of them, and who under no circumstances will resort to unscrupulous means?

Let us see how the alliance is effected between the great political parties of the country and these partisan or boss machines. The Republican and the Democratic parties, the two great national parties, have no concern with municipal politics. They never deal with them. You never see in their platforms anything about them. You never hear when any election is coming on anything about them. They know nothing about them; they care nothing about them; they expect to do nothing about them, and, in reality, they have no proper concern with them. And yet they have a concern.

Alliance of
National and
Municipal
Politicians.

What do they want? They want the votes, all they can get, the one side or the other, and therefore they want some agency operating in these great cities which will act on their side and secure to them by one means or another (and they do not care what—at all events they do not exhibit much care about it) the greatest number of votes.

What can they offer in return? This: They have the control of the general party organization of the country. They can recognize whichever local organization they please, and the one they choose to recognize is the only one that can exist. All the others must go out of existence. Now the leaders of the great political parties practically say to the politicians of the cities: "You bring us all the votes you can, and the man who is able to bring us the greatest number of votes (which is evidenced of course by the extent to which he carries municipal elections for the party)—the man who brings us the greatest number of votes, the *organization* that brings it, that man and that organization shall be pronounced regular;" and that declaration of course enables this municipal organization in the cities where it can carry an election to obtain entire control of the business of the municipality and of all its moneys and all its proceedings.

Let us go a step farther and see how this works. Who will gain this certificate of regularity? Who will be able to present the greatest number of votes? Unfortunately, it is very apt to be the person that is most unscrupulous in the way of producing votes. The man who can procure the greatest number of repeaters, the man who can tamper in any way with the ballot-box, the man who can tamper with the registration lists, the man who can tamper with the counting of votes, the man who can do anything by which the greatest number of votes is recorded in favor of any particular party, he is the man who is going to receive the reward. That is what happens in the State of New York; that is what happens in every state in the country with which I have any acquaintance. Now I speak more particularly of its operation in the state and city with which I am more familiar, and you must understand me when I mention any of the excesses into which this condition of things lead, that I refer more particularly to the State and to

the City of New York. I was extremely glad to hear from the lips of Mayor Collins yesterday, in extending as he did a welcome to this League, that he had found since his occupation of the chair of the mayoralty of this city no evidence of political corruption. He saw no direct evidence of anything of the kind. There was waste, there was extravagance, there was inefficiency, there were a great many things which might be remedied and ought to be remedied, but no corruption. I can easily believe all that to be true. I hope it is all true. I have no doubt it is all true. In the City of New York, however, and in many other cities, it is far otherwise. Now let us see how it works.

The Tammany organization in New York, for instance, New York being a Democratic city, obtains the recognition of the national committee and elects its Mayor and its other officers. How are the affairs of the city to be administered? These men can keep their offices only upon the condition that they produce a great number of votes for the party and bring out the full party vote. That is the condition upon which they hold their offices and their places, for if they fail to furnish a majority, and a large majority, they must give place to another and a different organization. Therefore we have this condition of things, that the first duty of every officer in the *City* of New York appointed under the Democratic administration, the first duty as he understands it, is to do the best he can for his party and to produce for it the greatest number of votes.

How does he accomplish it? Why, here is the Commissioner of Public Works, for instance, having a thousand men to em-

ploy. Men come to him—wardsmen, rounders, Offices and heelers in the Democratic party—and say, Contracts.

“Here, won’t you take so-and-so and so-and-so and so-and-so and put him on your list and give him employment?” It is done right off. They vote, of course, the Democratic ticket. In that way the halt, the lame and the blind are brought in and made to do service, or to receive pay, for that is all they do; they render very little service, and the laboring force of the city is thus composed, in part, of utter inefficiency.

Another man has large contracts and controls a large number of men. He comes and says, “I can contribute a very large

vote to the machine here and to the organization if you will give me public employment; I want some contracts." Well, that is all very probable. He can bring votes. Therefore, he is awarded a great many contracts. At what price? Why, of course at a very unfair price. He charges 20, 25, 50, maybe 100 per cent more than what ought justly to be paid for the service he renders. And so all through the public service. Men say they can bring votes, they can help the organization, but they must have this, they must have that, and they must have the other; and it is given to them, the consideration being the production of votes.

Therefore, you see that the municipality is all arranged upon this system: that the business of every officer is first to take care of his party, second, to take care of the interests of the city; and under such a system as that how are the interests of the city to be taken care of?

The next step is a still worse one. These leaders, finding themselves in possession of this vast political power, very speedily perceive that it can be turned to their own account upon a most gigantic scale. In the first place, here are men with an enormous number of contracts to award; they can award them to favorites with the corrupt understanding that they are to share the profits. You may say there are laws which govern the award of these contracts, which compel them to be put up at a public bidding, subject to regulations designed to prevent fraud. But what are laws and what are rules when the business of enforcing those rules and laws is in the hands of men who break them? They amount to nothing. The consequence is that the contracts of the city are let out to these men, and an exorbitant price paid for what they supply. The whole business of furnishing supplies is dealt with in that way.

Take, for instance, the New York Fire Department. There is an officer charged with the business of procuring supplies for that department which amount to hundreds of thousands of dollars a year. How does it work under this system? No man can sell a dollar's worth to the Fire Department of the City of New York—such has been the rule in times past—except by going to a certain agent and selling through him, through that one man. No other man need apply.

If he can sell through that agent, very well; otherwise not at all. What does that mean? Why, it means that the agent requires that a commission of at least 25 per cent of the value of the supplies be paid to him which, of course, is distributed among the men who employ him. Not only that. The man who furnishes the supplies, finding that the contract is going to be awarded to him anyway, sees that it is just as easy for him to charge 25 per cent more than this, and therefore doubles it or trebles it, and consequently the city is fleeced to that extent in the Fire Department.

In the schools it is the same thing. The committees that purchase the books, the coal, all the public provisions of the City of New York, form similar organizations among themselves and exact similar commissions with similar results.

This is not all. Come to the police; how is it there? Here is the Commissioner of Police, with powers to give to any man the office of Captain of Police,—to make Police and promotions. The office of captain is a very Crime. desirable thing. First, for its own legitimate

purposes; next, to unscrupulous men, for its illegitimate ones, which I will mention in a moment. It is very desirable to have, and the men who aspire to it are willing to pay for it, and they do pay for it. It has been proved beyond question that it was the invariable habit before a man would be awarded a commission as captain of police for him to pay a sum amounting to thousands of dollars, which of course went where the Commissioners wanted it to go. Well, what does the Captain of Police do? Having paid these thousands of dollars in order to get his office, he is determined to reimburse himself if he can. Indeed, he knows that it is expected he will, for the Commissioners would never exact this sum of \$5,000 unless they supposed he would in some way reimburse himself. How can he reimburse himself? There is one very easy way by which he can reimburse himself ten times over, and that is by giving protection to crime. If there is a man engaged in the illegal sale of liquor or at illegal hours who *wants* to be protected against the interference of the police, he knows he cannot carry it on for a moment except by the will of the police, and all he has to do is to pay the requisite sum for protec-

tion, and he is protected—\$100 a month, \$50 a month, \$500 a month for liquor-selling. Disorderly houses the same. Their existence is known to the police. Not one of them could exist for an hour without the permission of the police, and yet they exist, and it is known that they pay all the way from \$100 to \$500 a month for protection. Take the case of gambling-rooms and pool-rooms, where profits of enormous amounts are made. These could not stand for a moment without the protection of the police, and that protection they get, but only by paying for that protection to the extent sometimes of thousands of dollars a month.

What wonder, then, that we see the things that we do. I have known several instances of men who have been captains of police, with a salary of two or three thousand dollars a year, and after having been there eight, ten or fifteen years retire with a fortune commonly estimated at from half a million to a million.

That is not all. How about the great boss of all, the man who stands above all captains of police and all commissioners of police, and above even the mayor himself, although having no official office? In other words, where does the great leader of the organization, where does he come in, the Tweed or the Croker? Well, he is all-powerful. He can make or unmake any of these Commissioners or any of these captains. He can direct protection to be given and it will be given. He can direct it to be taken away and it will be taken away. Where does he get his power? He gets it from the fact that all the corrupt machine leaders under him know that the corrupt system under which they live and profit would crumble to pieces, unless there is a man at the head skilled in all the arts of maintaining a corrupt political ring. Every large political ring must have a despot at its head, and of course the largest share must go to him. How does he get it? Perhaps in the sums which are paid in the manner in which I have already indicated, but there are other sources of revenue far greater than that.

What is the value of the street railway franchises of the city of New York, do you suppose? Well, we know something about them from the extent of their capitalization. They are worth at least \$200,000,000. Of that, after you take out the money expended in the laying

down of rails and the building of cars and all other furniture that belongs to the proper operation of a street railway, amounting to \$50,000,000 there remains the franchise, which has been given by the city for nothing, and which is well worth the remaining \$150,000,000. How does that happen to be given? You cannot get such a thing as that without going to the man who stands above all others. What will he do? He must be "seen" in some manner. Somebody must go to him and say, "We want to operate a street railway on such and such streets; we know that you are very influential and that you can give it to us." Well no bones are made about stating the terms of these transactions. His answer is, "How much do you suppose that is worth, gentlemen?" "Well, we don't know; how much do you suppose it is worth?" Now, no one knows the figures that are eventually fixed in order to secure grants of that sort, and I may say no one absolutely knows—I do not absolutely know from any distinct evidence—that any money is paid for them. But if anyone has credulity enough to believe that Mr. Richard Croker or any of his tribe use the power which they undoubtedly possess to grant or withhold those franchises without payment, he is credulous indeed; and I suppose that the amount that is paid for them is measured not by hundreds or by thousands or by hundreds of thousands, but by millions of dollars. I may be wrong. But I do not know, you do not know, how much it takes to buy a great place in England equal to a dukedom and carry on a racing stable and all that goes with it, but it must call for an expenditure of hundreds of thousands a year in one way or another; and when you come to capitalize that amount you can gain some idea of the extent of the sums of money which we have some reason to believe is paid for these franchises.

And I have not described half the condition. This system goes down even into the remotest corners of municipal affairs and municipal life. There is no man that does not feel in some way or other the force of this influence that can be thus exercised. Why, the Italian push-cart dealer—the push-cart man who shoves a cart through the crowded street—cannot carry on his occupation unless he pays a certain amount of money to somebody, big or little, to enable him to do it. No one can

carry on an occupation forbidden by the laws without he pays for it. No man can carry on an occupation which is permitted by the laws, but which is yet of such a character as to give the police some ground for interfering with him and giving him trouble, without paying to get rid of them. And, therefore, there is no corner of the community, high or low, that does not feel the terrible force and power of this influence which is thus acquired and mercilessly wielded by a set of men who have thus obtained control of the entire official force of the city and all its finances.

Why don't we hear a chorus of exclamations against it? Almost everybody is silenced. Take a man that is the owner

The Cowardice of Citizens. of a large amount of property, and who feels the deepest interest in municipal affairs. If he

strives to the best of his ability to break up this condition of things he has every reason to believe that his property will be assessed 50 per cent more, and that he will have to pay 50 per cent more taxes than he now pays. Here are the heads of great corporations who need to enjoy a good many privileges in the city, railroad companies included, and other companies, such as gas companies, electric light companies, telephone companies—all needing the use of the streets in some manner or other. In the first place, it is not likely that they got them without being obliged to pay for them, and if they make any trouble their privileges are at once endangered. Therefore, the best part of the community is silenced through its timidity, its fears, its cowardice—call it cowardice—it is a species of cowardice, and although we cannot excuse it, yet we can understand it when we reflect that these gentlemen represent millions and millions of property not belonging to themselves, but to other people, which they feel bound to protect, because they have assumed the duty to protect it.

Now this is the condition of things which is brought about in a great city like New York, and I have but faintly described it, in consequence of this union, this alliance, between the great national political parties and the political chieftains or bosses in the municipality. It is an alliance in which the national parties say substantially: "We won't interfere in munici-

pal affairs. You may have the control of them; do with them as you like. We hope you will govern your city in the best possible manner; that is none of our business; but bring out the vote for us at the national or state election. That is what we want you to do and that is what we expect you to do." Did you ever hear any word from the leaders of the great national parties in condemnation of these practices with which the whole community is perfectly familiar? Did you ever hear one word of condemnation from them? No, none. On the contrary, they are clapping these wretches on the back and congratulating them on the magnificent showing they made at the last election.

How are we to get out of this condition? When we have learned what the cause of it is, why, then, we know how to get **Reform Within** out of it, and that is to remove the cause. **the Party.** Well, people draw back and begin to suggest all manner of expedients. The common suggestion is: "Why, we cannot help this control of the municipality by the national parties. It will take place. Political parties will make their nominations, and we are reduced to the alternative of voting for one or the other, Democrat or Republican, as we may be inclined, and we cannot help it. But what we should do is this: We should form organizations—the Republicans inside the Republican party and the Democrats inside the Democratic party—and purify the party, put out these unscrupulous men that have been guilty of every form of peculation and misconduct, and put in other men who, while they are true to the interests of the party, will be true also to the interests of the city."

Well, that sounds well, but how can it be done? If you reflect a moment, it is perfectly impossible. Suppose an organization of Democrats in the City of New York should be formed for the purpose of putting out Croker and all his kind and attacking the Tammany organization. Well, in the first place, you cannot get any set of men together for that kind of an object inside of a party that would begin to be so powerful as the set you are undertaking to remove. When the test comes upon a vote at the primaries the corrupt possessors of the organization will be able to outnumber five to one all the reforming votes that can be brought in, and you can never make the change.

Suppose you could make the exchange, what would be its effect? Suppose you could oust Croker and his set from the control of Tammany Hall. What have you done? Why, you would be creating a war between different members of the same party, and they would be bitterly enraged with each other, and the corrupt set being put out, in order to anger the others (for they have no political principles) you would soon find them over in the Republican party, and they would put the Republican party in the ascendancy and practice their same tricks under the cover of the Republican party.

I remember a story of a gentleman who had been a member of Congress, and after twenty years was elected again. When he went back he had occasion to go into one of the department offices, and he found there a gentleman, an official, who had been there when he was in Congress twenty years before, and he congratulated him on it. He said, "How is it that you have remained here through so many changes of administration?" There had been half a dozen. Republicans had come and gone and Democrats had come and gone. "Well," says he, "if they can change their administrations quicker than I can change my politics they are pretty smart." Now, these corrupt politicians of the municipal stripe do not care under what banner they fight,—one is just as good as the other; and if you did attempt to put them out and succeeded in the attempt in one party, they would go over into the other and make that party successful by the same means.

The only remedy is to conquer the evil in its cause—this alliance, this control of municipal affairs by the political parties—to attack the control of the political parties over municipal affairs; to say to the political parties: "You have no business or concern with them. You must not nominate candidates; if you do they are to be beaten."

Now you ask, What does that mean? Does it mean we are to organize, to have an organization in the various wards and districts of the city, a municipal party formed for the purpose of securing better government, and to put up candidates for mayor, for alderman and other municipal officers and to endeavor to elect them? Yes, it means just that. Well, they say, you cannot

A Municipal
Party.

do it. Perhaps you can't, but if you don't do it you will suffer. You will suffer, and in the end you will be obliged to do it; and when it becomes necessary to do it, as it will, why then you will do it, because whatever is necessary to be done will be done as a matter of course, and the time will come when it will be necessary.

Well, is it not possible? Why, yes, it is possible if you only thought so. If all the individuals or half of the well-disposed members of the community who have no pecuniary interest in politics would say, "We will adopt this policy," the thing would be done. A party would be at once formed which, put in the field, would have the majority or would so endanger the election of the candidates of either of the other two that it would quickly become superior and control the destinies of the city. Why, it is done repeatedly, is it not? We have done it two or three times in New York. It has been done in Chicago. It has been done in fifty of the cities of the country occasionally, sporadically indeed, but what has been done once or twice or three times, can it not be done always? Why, of course it can. If you can do it once you can always do it.

But if that cannot be done, and *meanwhile* until it is done, is there nothing else that we can do? Yes, there is. There is **Independent Voting.** something that can be done very effectually—
independent voting. The control of municipal

affairs may continue to be lodged in the great political parties; the practice may be continued of nominating candidates for all political offices and striving for their election. But if all the well-disposed members of the two political parties would think a little more lightly of their political connections, and say that the correct administration of municipal affairs is more important than anything else, as it is, and say that here is a nomination by our own party of men not fit to govern it, not fit to control the offices for which they are nominated, and say we will vote against those men, we will vote for the candidates of the opposite party, we will defeat our party for this election, and do that freely, earnestly, and whenever an occasion for it arises, a long step will be taken towards our political regeneration. Political parties will then understand that they will be de-

pendent upon public opinion for the continued control of municipal affairs. They will then understand that they cannot carry their maladministration of political affairs too far. They will then understand that they cannot put up for mayor or for controller or for members of the board of aldermen notorious criminals. They will then understand that in order to command the suffrages of the people, the candidates whom they nominate must be men of fair records, fair purposes, and who furnish promise, at least, of serving the public faithfully in case they are elected. Therefore, if the great and radical change which I first pointed out is not accepted, or until that is adopted, this other measure, freely practiced, will, I doubt not, accomplish great good.

In speaking, as I have very freely, of the way in which municipal affairs are conducted in a city like New York where so much corruption prevails, one would think **A Wrong System.** that everyone concerned in it, from top to bottom, was a bad man. Now that is not so. Of course there are many men very unscrupulous, and some altogether and every way bad; but we have to make many allowances. Here, for instance, are the policemen, police captains if you please, ambitious for distinction, ambitious for promotion, having paid for promotion because they have been compelled to pay for it, but not because they want to do it. How is it that they come to protect crime? Why, they see that it expected that they will do so. They are obliged to protect it in order to reimburse themselves for their expenses. They protect it, as they think, only in those cases where it may be protected with less injury to the public, and in a multitude of ways they attempt to excuse their consciences. They would do better if they could. And so also with the policemen, and so also with the subordinate officers in every department. The great majority of them are men very much like ourselves, greatly preferring to do right, who always would do right under favorable circumstances, but who are unable to resist unfavorable circumstances and unfavorable conditions. And when everything around them is corrupt, when everything above them is corrupt, when they see the men upon whom they would naturally rely fleecing the public for the purpose of enriching

themselves, there is little wonder that they fall themselves from that rectitude which they would otherwise practice.

Mr. Philbin, of New York, read a paper this morning before the League, very interesting on that point. He was appointed by Governor Roosevelt, over a year ago, District Attorney for the County of New York, in place of Mr. Gardiner, the Tammany District Attorney, who had been turned out by the Governor for misconduct in office. Mr. Philbin, a very respectable man, went in there with the determination to administer his office in the best possible manner and without any regard to politics whatever. He was a Democrat. Governor Roosevelt appointed him because he thought as he had turned out a Democrat it was proper for him to appoint a Democrat in his place. He found there a force of something like a hundred employees, every one of them of course Tammany men. He could not turn them all out and carry on his office, because he could not provide himself with a new force that would have any acquaintance with its duties. He did, therefore, the only thing he could do. He dismissed those whom he thought were less efficient or positively culpable and reduced his force in that way, and the rest, to a very large number, he retained. Among others he retained some twenty-five or thirty whom he employed in the way of obtaining evidence. They were called office detectives, and they served the subpœnas and did a variety of services, some of them humble, some of them very important.

He found one day, or had information which led him to suppose, that a very serious violation of the law was being practiced in a certain house in a certain part of the city, which house, he was also informed, was owned by the Democratic leader of the district, and who, it was suspected, was a participant in the illegal practices that were carried on. He wished to obtain information about it and evidence which would warrant an indictment of the offenders. He, by the way, had made a speech to these men when he retained them, and said: "Now, I do not interfere with your politics at all; I do not ask any man in this office what his politics are. I do not know what yours are. I presume you are all Tammany men. I do not ask you to give up Tammany politics. If you are working for Tammany Hall I do not ask you to cease working for it. Work as much as

you please for Tammany Hall, but your duties in this office must be discharged faithfully; when there is any neglect on this score you must go."

Well, he called one of these men and he said to him: "Now I have such and such information. I want you to ascertain what the fact is, and I want to have a man that will go up there upon those premises and ascertain who are concerned in this business, in order that I may indict and convict them, if I can, whoever they may be. Now, I know you live in that district; the man that owns that house is your friend; he may do you a great injury; he may destroy any place you have in the political association to which you belong. Now, if you are apprehensive on that score, why, I am not going to ask this service of you." "Well," replied the young man, "I think, sir, that those considerations ought to have no weight. I am ready to do my duty."

I thought that was a pretty good rebuke, coming from a spoilsman to a reformer, and so Mr. Philbin accepted it and said that he felt it as a rebuke. I mention these things for the purpose of showing that the official force—even a Tammany official force—is not fully charged throughout with corruption. On the contrary, if you changed the conditions—if you relieved them from the false conditions in which they stand, relieved them from their engagements to these corrupt men, threw off the chains which bind them—they will once more feel themselves to be men, and act like men. That is human nature everywhere.

A few words in conclusion. Let me ask of you here, what part do you feel like taking in these very momentous concerns?

Personal Effort. I appeal to you to engage in this cause, not because it is a voluntary work in which you may accomplish a great deal of good, but because it is your imperative duty to do it, just as much as it is to keep your own lives unspotted from the world, or to bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. It is an imperative duty. Every man, every woman, who by vote or voice or influence or example can contribute anything to the breaking up of this miserable and wretched alliance between the great political parties of the country and the

political chieftains of the lower order in our cities and municipalities and fails to make the effort, is guilty, I think, of a criminal neglect in the performance of duty. And remember, too, that the performance of this duty, which seems to be so difficult and so little promising in the way of rewards, really has and really brings the very richest rewards.

Besides the consciousness—the inward consciousness—of having done your duty, let me say to you that you will always accomplish something in the direct line of your efforts. If you wish to improve municipal conditions and make an earnest and faithful effort to do it, you may not accomplish all you hope for; you may accomplish but very little of what you hope for, but you will be able to accomplish something which will richly remunerate you for all the trouble and all the cost. We have had, over and over again, in the city of New York—I say over and over again; two or three times, at least—great municipal successes—elections in which we have over-

Results. thrown the great enemy Tammany, and when a great many sanguine people thought that the millenium in municipal affairs was at hand. But in three or four years, when another election came around and Tammany was victorious again all of them were disheartened and would say: "Oh, what good does it do to take any trouble at all, to attempt to accomplish anything? You never can." I have often reminded these people, "Why, you have accomplished a great deal in the direct line of your efforts."

Take this, for instance: Five or six years ago when Mayor Strong was brought into office, the city of New York under Tammany rule was in wretched condition, and more particularly its streets. They were never more filthy. They were filthy from one end of the city to the other, and there were no well-disposed citizens that did not feel ashamed of them. The efforts of a few women, I might almost say of one woman, sufficed to bring about an interest in the subject of cleaning those streets which led to the employment of several lawyers who were interested in the matter, and who gave their efforts, and it resulted in a new law and a new system of street-cleaning, which was carried through the legislature of the State. Mayor Strong came into office at the time, and he filled the

position of Commissioner of Street-Cleaning with Colonel Waring, and in three months the city of New York was as clean as any city in the union and remained so during his career in office.

In three years, however, the administration of Mr. Strong was at an end and Tammany was in again. Colonel Waring was retired from office and a Tammany commissioner came in. Did the condition of the streets of New York at once revert to that which they were in before Colonel Waring took command? No. They were cleaned by this Tammany Commissioner almost as well as Colonel Waring cleaned them himself, and that was because the example having been set, the machinery having been provided, the people of New York having been accustomed to a certain standard of cleaning the streets, Tammany Hall knew that it would never do to go back to the former condition. And although, therefore, the election of Mayor Strong was not followed by any further political success of the non-partisan movement, and of the reform movement, still the benefits which were instituted under his administration have been so palpably beneficial that the standard in the public mind has been changed, and Tammany could not afford to go back to its former methods.

Such, then, are the rewards for well-intentioned and well-directed effort on these lines, and what more noble work could men and women be engaged in than this? I do not depreciate the importance of national politics. On the contrary, I have a high estimate of them and like to see men engage in them with interest, with ardor and with devotion. I am a party man myself, and I like to see the great national policies which are represented by the two opposing parties presented to the people of the country, and their assent to this or that measure sought by discussion, by argument, by every fair influence by which the mind can be influenced. The national political campaigns, with all their attendants—or most of them, there are some of them I would leave out—are interesting and valuable experiences, instructive to the citizen, necessary to freedom, and they are not to be given up by any manner of means. It is only when national politics undertake to encroach upon a domain with which they have no concern that the mischief arises, and it is at that point that our efforts ought to be directed.

If I should compare, however, the importance of national politics with municipal politics, if I may so call them, the importance of a proper control of national affairs with that of municipal affairs, I should say that the former were less important, almost like dust in the balance compared with the latter. In national affairs, whichever party is elected the business of the country, the administration of its affairs, goes on in about the same way. You would scarcely know the difference; but in municipal affairs the moment degeneracy begins it is felt in every corner of your civil and political life. The moment unscrupulous men get possession of your municipal offices and turn them to their own purposes, your schools begin to suffer degradation, the pavement of your streets is affected, the cleanliness of your city is gone, your police comes into alliance with crime and you are threatened with every sort of danger, and there is no form of social or political life in which you do not instantly feel the result. It is for this reason that I cannot help thinking that the attention to municipal affairs is vastly more important in immediate results than any attention to national politics, although I would by no means disparage the latter.

I look forward to a time when these views in reference to our municipal affairs will be better understood and will be generally accepted and acted upon, and the methods which now seem to some visionary will be fully employed and become thoroughly effective, and our cities, great and small, be made to be what they ought to be, the magnificent temples of our modern civilization.

A Year's Municipal Progress

By CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

Secretary, National Municipal League, Philadelphia

The dignity and nobility of municipal life is beginning to dawn upon the minds of American citizens. The time was, and that not so very long ago, when questions pertaining to municipal government were relegated to a secondary place in the consideration of public affairs. National and state politics occupied first place and absorbed the political talent and capacity of statesmen. Now a gradual change of emphasis is observable. In many communities the vote for municipal officers is no longer the smallest. The municipal contest is no longer the least observed. The cities are attracting to their service men of the first class, men of broad vision and sufficient capacity. Our municipalities are dotted with organizations devoted to a study and discussion of their needs. To a far greater extent than either state or national politics, municipal concerns are attracting and holding the attention of public-spirited men of affairs.

The cause for this is not far to seek. The city has assumed a place in our political, social and industrial life, which can no longer be safely ignored. Its very size and importance in our body politic commands attention. With his usual perspicacity, Lord Rosebery called attention to the greatness of city life and the possibilities of municipal activity, in his recent speech at Swansea. He said:

"I wish that my voice could be heard far beyond Swansea; I wish it could extend to every municipality in the kingdom, and impress upon every man, however high his position, however great his wealth, the dignity of municipal life. However consummate his talents may be, the importance and nobility of municipal work. There is no town council that has not done more to be seen in this past year than parliament has done in the past year. The

councilor can walk about and see the operations of the council to which he belongs and, moreover, he can, in the bosom of the council itself, nourish fresh schemes of practical improvement, which he knows will be carried out if they are voted ; and he can also see that they are carried out in the most efficient way. I do not think our people understand how much larger and more noble and more useful this municipal life is going to become. Year by year it grows and grows, I think out of proportion to the growth of the importance of the Imperial Parliament. Each year men are more and more engrossed in the work of their own locality, in developing their own locality, in making that locality more useful, more beautiful, and a better place for men and women to live in. Well, I hold that that is an object worthy of any man's ambition. There is no man too great to serve in those capacities, and if I could leave one grain of seed by the roadside when I go away this afternoon it would be the precept that no man in Swansea, however eminent or great he may be, would neglect the burden, the responsibility, and the happiness of municipal work."

As an illustration of the growing appreciation of the municipal problem, I need only cite the country-wide interest in the recent Greater New York mayoralty campaign. Throughout the length and breadth of this land the people were deeply concerned as to who was to be Mayor of the first city of the United States. The papers and magazines were filled with articles and pictures concerning its various features. Sermons were preached and addresses delivered, and I have no doubt prayers were offered, bearing upon the New York situation. It was regarded as a vital matter, and the triumph of Low and Jerome was generally regarded as a triumph of righteousness and decency of importance and influence not alone in Greater New York, but in every city and town in the country. It gave courage to the weak and faltering and faint-hearted, and strengthened the hands of the workers for municipal advancement everywhere.

Interest in
New York.

Nor has the interest in the situation abated. Keen eyes and interested ones are watching every move of Mayor Low and District Attorney Jerome and their colleagues. Their successes are rejoiced over ; their missteps criticised and discussed.

I think it can be said without the slightest exaggeration that

the affairs of New York city are attracting as much attention as any other phase of activity, city, state or national. This is a just recognition of the importance and position of municipal affairs. Mayor Low is second in authority and power to no other official in the United States, with the single exception of President Roosevelt. He controls the destinies of more employees and officials and has the disbursement of a greater budget and affects directly and more potently the lives of more people. The attention accorded him and his administration is therefore in keeping with the importance of his work.

This appreciation of and interest in the municipal affairs is not confined to New York. Those of Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, San Francisco, St. Louis, not to mention many another which might be appropriately included, are written about and discussed in a way that clearly indicates that the people are awakening to their true value. The work of the Chicago Municipal Voters' League, of the San Francisco Merchants' Association, of the Philadelphia Municipal League, of the Cleveland Municipal Association, is familiar not only to the student of these questions, but to a constantly increasing number of general readers. This is as it should be, but it must not be assumed that it has grown to the extent it should and must, if we are to make any very great progress in the course of the next few years. We cannot expect to redeem our cities from their careers of inefficiency and corruption through a break in the ranks of the enemy. It will come only through each citizen discharging his full duty and participating to the extent of his vote on every proper occasion. The Pittsburg victory of last February came not through a break in the ranks of the ringsters, for, as a matter of fact, the ring ticket polled 2,000 more votes than it had ever done before. It came through the voters going to the polls and overwhelming the enemies of decency and honesty. The machine polled 23,000, but the Citizens' ticket polled 31,000. Ninety per cent of the assessed voters did their duty, and decency won.

The Stay-at-Home Vote. Contrast this situation with that in Philadelphia, and the lesson becomes obvious. To quote from the last annual report of the Philadelphia Municipal League:

"The February election was for councilmen, who have the spending of \$30,000,000 a year, and have the lives and safety of 1,293,697 people in their care; for school directors, charged with the education of our youth; and for election officers, who receive and count the suffrages of the people for the two succeeding elections; but how did the people regard the election? To the credit of the Republican organization be it said that its vote showed little or no change. Weaver, in November, had 138,177 votes; Kinsey, in February, had 134,509 (excluding the votes he received on the Union ticket); Rothermel, on the Municipal League-Union ticket, received 94,622, and the same parties polled slightly over 30,000 in February. Where are the other 64,000 voters? Not in the machine ranks, because there was practically no variation in its vote. They just stayed at home, like many another did in November, and thus not only failed to enter a protest against the practices of the machine, but by their abstention gave their implied approval to its acts and thus enabled the machine to continue on undisputed. Even if we add the 24,000 Democratic vote polled in February to that of the Municipal League and Union vote we have only 54,000.

"These figures tell their own story. The machine can always depend upon its vote, partly through the perfection of its organization; partly through its almost absolute control of the election officers; but its great source of strength, we might almost say its bulwark, is the indifference and apathy of the independent voter. The returns show that there are at least 90,000 such in Philadelphia; they also show that they come out only on occasions, instead of regularly. Of nearly 350,000 assessed voters, in November, but 239,000 voted; that is, 68 per cent of the whole. Nearly the entire assessment was voted in the notoriously corrupt wards; so that the percentage of stay-at-homes in the independent wards must have been greatly in excess of 68 per cent. This figure is criminally large in a democratic community."

The stay-at-home vote in American cities is unquestionably responsible for the majority of the difficulties confronting advocates of higher municipal standards. The people of our American municipalities are not dishonest nor deliberate supporters of corruption and inefficiency; but they allow the forces

of evil to secure and maintain their control either through indifference or through dividing their own forces on irrelevant issues. The practical politician, as he is familiarly called, knows what he wants, and allows nothing, either in law or morals, to stand in his way. The reformer, on the other hand, to use a word which but inadequately describes the advocates of cleaner and healthier municipal conditions, all too frequently allows his influence to be curtailed through the insistence upon matters of minor or at least secondary importance, and through an unwillingness to coöperate except with those who agree with him at every point. This tendency, added to the indifference and apathy of the average decently inclined voter, creates a situation fraught with difficulty and danger.

The appreciation and discussion of these facts are beginning to have their effect; moreover, their recognition itself is a hopeful sign. Agencies are multiplying, having for their object the arousing of the voter and his instruction in his duties. Very many of the colleges are taking up the subject and giving it attention and emphasis through class-room instruction and platform lectures. Some of the earnest young men now active in forward movements owe their incentive and initiative to the talks they have heard at college. Then the churches and their ministers are doing their share in the same direction. Listen to this sentiment from the lips of Dr. Washington Gladden, delivered to a church audience:

“Who will do all this? The people. The men and women of palace and tenement, of the stores and shops and factories and offices. Really, there is no one else to do it. No angels will come down to help us. Congress cannot, and the interference of the state with municipal government ought to be reduced to a minimum. If we are to be reformed, we shall be reformed by the intelligent power of the people. Nor will it be done by the people of the churches and the colleges. It will never be done without them, but they cannot do it alone. It will never be done until all the people are of the same mind.”

Who will deny the effect and influence of words like these, in the direction of arousing the audience to a determination to

do its share at least toward regeneration? I have not the slightest doubt that the high grade of Rochester's government and the fact that its schools are now out of politics, is partly due to the churches of that city opening their doors to men like Dr. Gladden and to their sustaining in their pulpits bold and courageous public-spirited men like the Rev. Clarence A. Barbour.

The Christian Endeavor societies are taking the subject up with effectiveness. In a recent leaflet issued by the United Societies of Christian Endeavor, urging the formation of Christian Endeavor Civic Clubs, Samuel B. Capen, one of our own members, said:

"One of the most hopeful signs of the year has been the large place given at all the gatherings of young people to the city problems and the duties of Christian citizenship. . . . That Christian citizenship is a religious duty is nothing new to Christian Endeavorers. Dr. Clark, in his presidential address at Montreal in 1893, laid very great emphasis upon this phase of the work. The question now is, How practically can we qualify ourselves for better citizenship? Many answers may be given, but I wish to put the emphasis upon one which seems to me fundamental. Christian Endeavorers are sacredly bound to be intelligent upon those questions which have to do with the well-being of the cities where they reside. To secure such knowledge will require study and effort. There is more ignorance to the square inch at this point than at almost any other. If any one doubts it, ask a few elementary questions of the average citizen, and you will soon discover how dense the ignorance is. . . . The time has certainly come to urge Christian Endeavorers to see a religious obligation as well as a glorious opportunity in the study of social and municipal questions."

The young people's societies of the various churches are moving in the same direction; the Young Men's Christian Associations likewise. Courses of lectures on municipal topics are frequent, municipal classes are numerous, and city topics form the subject of many a debate. All of this is making for intelligent interest, and is serving to train the rising generations in their opportunities and, above all, their duties. The boys' clubs, college settlements, and school societies are likewise powerful adjuncts. They are teaching boys the nobility of citizenship; the usefulness and possibilities of municipal life, which twenty

years hence will be the richer and purer because of the practical application of the higher standards now being inculcated in the boys and girls of the present day.

The National Municipal League has had no small part in this wholesome development. Its literature and speakers have been in constant demand. Indeed, the demand far outstrips the supply. One leading city worker and editor put it: "The National Municipal League has become so potent a factor among the forces which, by shaping public opinion and by presenting practical programs for reform, are making for sure betterment, that no one who is at work in the same field can be indifferent to its history and present aims and work."

An interesting report could be compiled dealing solely with the activities of such bodies as we have already mentioned, so far as they relate to citizenship and to such bodies as the City History Club of New York, the local leagues for civic improvement, the League for Political Education, and the Woman's Municipal League of New York, to the traveling municipal libraries in Wisconsin; to the excellent work which is being accomplished through the growing list of periodicals dealing with the various phases of municipal life. The work of the League's Committee on Instruction in Municipal Government in American Educational Institutions will be treated of separately. It may not be inappropriate in this connection, however, to refer to the reception it has had at the hands of educators. Two thousand copies of a separate edition of its report presented at the Rochester meeting were quickly disposed of, and still the demand was not satisfied. If we may judge from the correspondence which it has elicited, the inquiries it has promoted and the commendation it has received in the press, it has certainly been effective. The number of courses offered in colleges has been increased and the number of single lectures greatly multiplied and a still larger increase may be looked for within the next two years. The committee should certainly be continued, and its functions and powers so increased as to enable it to include within its activities the high and secondary schools of the country. Once instruction in municipal affairs becomes an established part of the curriculum of the colleges,

universities and other educational institutions, a great step forward will have been accomplished in securing for coming generations better municipal conditions; and it is by no means without effect upon present conditions. An evidence of this latter is to be found in the fact that Madison, Wis., has re-elected as Alderman, by the largest majority ever given to an aldermanic candidate, Dr. Samuel E. Sparling, the instructor in municipal government in the University of Wisconsin. Another evidence in the same direction was the assured nomination of Prof. Edward J. James, of the University of Chicago, who taught the same branches, for Alderman in that city. His election to the Presidency of the Northwestern University, however, prevented his acceptance of the nomination.

While the education of the citizens is going thus steadily forward, that of the official is making progress. I have on more than one previous occasion referred to **The Education of the Official.** the work which is being carried on by the two national organizations of city officials and to the numerous state leagues. There has been no cessation of endeavor on their part during the past year. They have maintained their several lines of activity. A number of them have unquestionably increased in efficiency. Their discussions are of a practical character, and many of their endeavors are as much in the direction of protecting the cities from the adverse influences of public service corporations and similar bodies, as those of non-office-holding citizens. For instance, at the present time the California League of Municipalities is opposing with all its force and ability a bold corporation scheme embodied in a constitutional amendment. The League urges the following objections to it:

1. It will increase taxation.
2. It makes impossible the securing of any reduction of rates for any public service.
3. It perpetuates the inefficient features of the present railroad commission.
4. It destroys municipal ownership of public utilities.
5. It interferes with local self-government.
6. It places inordinate powers in the hands of the present Governor.
7. It will deprive cities and counties of license fees now paid by public corporations.
8. It takes away from local bodies

all control of franchises. 9. It establishes a bureaucracy.
10. It is antagonistic to a republican form of government.

This sounds more like the utterance of a municipal league or a citizens' association than the formal statement of a body of Mayors and Councilmen, and yet such it is and as such marks the great advance achieved during the past four or five years in the way of the enlightenment and education of city officials.

The efforts of such bodies, however, have been mainly in the direction of the improvement of the methods of municipal administration and of what may be called the technical side of city government. That it is not entirely devoted, however, to such efforts is shown by the instance just cited, as well as by such action as that of the Mayors' Association of Connecticut, which at the January meeting devoted its energies mainly to devising requests to the Connecticut Constitutional Convention, then just convening, for charter reforms. This association adopted the following preamble and resolution:

"WHEREAS, The Mayors' Association believes that the charters of the various cities of this State should in their general features be uniform in character; and

"WHEREAS, We believe also that as many of the details of such charters as possible should be left to the local option of the communities to be governed under them respectively; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Constitutional Convention now in session in Hartford be earnestly requested to take this matter under consideration, and enact such provisions as shall secure such uniformity and local self-government."

This is right in line with the National Municipal League's suggestion, and shows not only the public spirit of the Connecticut officials, but the influence of the League. Both of these tendencies have been numerously manifested in other quarters during the past year. If the National Municipal League had done nothing else or attempted nothing new, the work it has accomplished and the influence it has exerted through the Municipal Program is certainly worth while. This has been nowhere more directly or forcibly expressed than in the following, taken from the report of a Minnesota city

charter commission accompanying a proposed charter (March 26, 1902), which has since been adopted by a large majority of the people of the city:

The League and Charter Reform. "It is the best charter ever constructed in Minnesota; it reserves to the people greater powers than any charter of the state; it provides for reform in city government of the most important character, and, if adopted, it will grow in the appreciation of the people and be found as near a model charter as can fairly be devised. It might be explained that the new charter has been framed as nearly as possible in accordance with the principles and recommendations of the National Municipal League, an association comprised of officers of cities and distinguished public men of all parties who have given city government a close study for many years. The commission had before it and made use of the books published by the League, and it was found that the wisdom and experience of the members of the League were of great help and advantage."

A striking evidence of the practical value of the League's recommendation is the fact that the new Alabama constitution

The League and Constitutional Reform. has incorporated its suggestion in several important respects. A member of the Convention, in writing of the important municipal

developments in Alabama, enumerates "the changes made in the new constitution on the subject of municipal corporations. . . . Under the head of local legislation you will find a provision that the legislature may not hereafter grant a special charter or make an amendment to any special charter. This will necessitate the adoption of a municipal code, which the next Legislature will be called upon to frame." Certain of the recommendations of the Municipal Program concerning franchises and limitations on debt were also incorporated.

The Virginia Constitutional Convention, now in session, has also availed itself of the Municipal Program. The Committee on Towns and Cities, after a careful investigation and study of the subject, and the Convention on its recommendation adopted a number of the more important suggestions, following in certain instances the identical language of the Program.

The Program has been put before the people at a most

opportune time. Constitutional conventions and charter revision committees are coming along with remarkable frequency. Indeed, there is a general unrest with present municipal conditions and with the existing forms of government. The make-shifts heretofore regarded as sufficient are becoming irksome, and there is a growing tendency to work for needed changes. A recent writer referred to the movement in the New England states as an epidemic, and mentioned Lowell, Haverhill, Springfield, New Bedford, Taunton, Brockton, Fall River, Providence and New Haven as among the cities thus affected. This list might be added to considerably.

As in previous years, the movement for new charters has been greatest in California, Washington and Minnesota, where **Movement for New Charters.** the cities can frame their own charters and the power of the legislature is confined to saying yes or no. The new instruments have generally given satisfaction and recognize the necessity of concentrating power in the hands of responsible officials. Except in the states mentioned, the power of the legislature is still unnecessarily and dangerously large; but the sentiment in favor of a larger degree of municipal home rule is certainly growing with encouraging rapidity. The desire for improved charters has been availed of by designing politicians in a number of places, notably in Pennsylvania and Michigan. In Pennsylvania a really excellent charter has been given Pittsburgh, Scranton and Allegheny, but coupled with certain conditions which have made the legislation notorious and dangerous. I refer to the "ripper" features, legislating out of office the regularly elected officials of the cities named, and giving the Governor the power to appoint and remove their successors at will until April, 1903. In short, these cities and their government and their officials are made the pawns of the Governor, who has not hesitated to use his power for the basest of factional ends. The "ripper" clauses in the Detroit charter also introduced certain desirable features in a most undesirable way.

It is a matter for justifiable gratification to record the fact that practically every charter commission has in some wise used the proceedings of the National Municipal League and its

Municipal Program. One commission provided each member with a copy of the latter volume. In Honolulu one of the papers published the Program in its entirety to enable the Hawaiian Legislature to be properly informed concerning what the paper in question was pleased to call a "model charter." It is simply out of the question to enumerate the charter changes of the year or even the names of the cities affected. It may be said that, on the whole, many of the changes have been in the right direction, except, and I regret to record the fact, that there has been no cessation of the tendency toward verbosity and a specific delegation of powers. It is a great pity that our American cities are so frequently little more than closely bound and gagged giants with no power of initiation and little or none of locomotion.

Until our cities are emancipated and given powers commensurate with their dignity and importance, we cannot hope for the fulfilment of our hopes for a higher municipal life through local government.

Mention must be made, before leaving the subject of charter legislation, of the heroic struggles in Ohio, under the leadership of the Ohio State Board of Commerce, **The Ohio Code.** for a municipal code that will take away the opprobrium and difficulties under which Ohio cities are now unfortunately laboring. For some four or five years now this State Board, composed of the leading business bodies and the more active and aggressive business men of the State, has been working persistently for an improvement in the legislation relating to the cities of Ohio. In this it has set an example worthy of emulation on the part of other business bodies throughout the Union. When our business men generally set their faces against prevailing municipal conditions and resolutely set themselves to work to change and improve them, we may look for a great advance. In this country, at this time, they hold an important if not a dominating position. They have only to direct their attention to a subject with their accustomed thoroughness and aggressiveness, and concrete results are not far off. Unfortunately, too many of them—in fact, a large majority of them—draw a sharp line between business and political life, and refuse to take any

part on the latter side. This adds materially to the inertia of apathy and indifference to which reference has already been made. A change, however, is coming over even the conservative business men. The action of the Ohio Board of Trade, of the New York and San Francisco Merchants' Associations, is hastening the tendency. The fact that they have taken an active part in political affairs has not injured their usefulness and influence as commercial bodies and it has materially aided the cause of better municipal government.

Business Men and Municipal Politics. No one has more forcibly stated the argument in behalf of the active participation of business bodies in municipal politics than the president of the New York Merchants' Association (D. Le Roy Dresser), in an address before the Silk Association of America. Mr. Dresser said :

"I firmly believe that it is the duty of commercial organizations such as your own, for instance, to investigate and take action on matters which vitally affect the business community as a whole, just as thoroughly and quickly as the individual members of the organizations would look into anything concerning their own business. I do not for a moment think that bodies such as the Silk Association of America or the Merchants' Association of New York, connected as they are with business and commerce, should be concerned in things that are purely political, but I do strongly hold that they should say to the politician, when he attempts to bring about wrongful or mistaken legislation or action which will affect their welfare, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no further.' If taking such action as this can be called going into politics, then as president of the Merchants' Association I plead guilty to the charge of having entered the political field.

"Last summer the Merchants' Association took action which some people construed as a very strong indication that we were in politics—I refer to the charges against poor old Devery. Why did we take such action? Because one of the chief objects of the Association is to invite out-of-town merchants to come to New York to buy goods in this market. While each season we brought thousands of buyers to the city, many were deterred from coming to New York in view of what they had read in the papers as to the condition in the police department, whereby corruption, vice and crime were permitted to exist unchecked. Gentlemen, there were outward signs all around this city showing that the municipal government then in control

countenanced corruption and vice in every form. It was for that reason that the Merchants' Association preferred charges against Deputy Police Commissioner Devery.

"In closing, I can only ask that, as you go to your homes, you register a vow to do all in your power in the future to increase the scope and influence of commercial organizations, for in that way you will be helping to advance the material prosperity of this nation, both in commerce and finance, as well as raising the standard of civic honesty and decency."

If the Merchants' Association of the metropolis of our nation can take such flat-footed action as that on the charges against Devery, and its successful campaign against the Ramapo job; if the New York Chamber of Commerce can lend its influence to the appointment of the Committee of Fifteen to investigate the social evil, then there is no reason why every other business body in this country should not at once array itself on the side of municipal decency and righteousness and at once take vigorous steps to bring about a better state of affairs in our cities.

The influence of the bodies just mentioned is already having a salutary effect, and is arousing other commercial organizations from the lethargy into which they have fallen in municipal matters. Some of the most notable contributions to municipal progress have been made by bodies like the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, the Chicago Merchants' Association, and the Indianapolis Commercial Club.

At the same time that the business men are "going into municipal politics," the wage-earner is doing likewise. In

**Party Lines
in Municipal
Affairs.** many respects the most significant feature of the past year from a municipal standpoint has been the election of labor men to important municipal office. The present Mayor of San

Francisco was elected on a separate labor ticket, and was opposed by a Republican and a Democratic nominee. The present Mayors of Ansonia and Bridgeport, Conn., are union men, as is the Mayor-elect of Hartford. All of these men are of the opposite parties from their predecessors, and were elected in some cases on independent tickets.

Whatever else these events may indicate, they show conclusively that municipal citizens are ignoring party lines to a hitherto unprecedented extent. Thus far the experiments have

proved successful, but, putting this question aside, it is clear that the consideration of state and national party politics are having less and less influence in many sections of the country. The Greater New York election indicates the same thing. Mr. Low was elected Mayor because so large a number of Democrats were ready to put the city's interests above those of their party.

Of course, this creates a difficult condition of affairs, and one which has not invariably made for efficiency. A mayor without the backing of a closely organized dominant party is in a position of great difficulty. He must succeed upon the merits of his administration, and as he cannot do all that his once sanguine supporters want, he is bound to disappoint many more than he can possibly satisfy. There will be more or less disappointment with non-partisan mayors until the people reach the point of disregarding party lines, both at election times and in judging the acts of officials.

The New York situation has been and is most instructive. To begin with, the Low campaign was waged from beginning to end as a citizens' movement. Even the **The New York Republican party, which nominated Mr. Low, Situation.** and the whole Fusion ticket, took occasion to say formally and deliberately that:

"The Republican City Convention of New York represents a partisan organization. We believe that the federal and state governments can be conducted only by the party system; but we feel that the case is different with the administration of municipal affairs. The great city is a great business corporation. There should not be such a thing as a Republican or a Democratic way of cleaning the streets, or collecting the taxes, or arresting the pool-room and dive keepers; and it makes no difference whether a man is a Republican or a Democrat when his duties are to manage the police department, to conduct the finances, or to supervise the whole municipal administration."

This National Municipal League doctrine formed the basis of the Low campaign. The great majority given the Fusion ticket was indeed a mighty triumph, but the spirit manifested by the successful candidates was still more significant. Not one looked upon his election as the fruition but only as the

commencement of the work. Mayor Low, in making his appointments, was guided by the same principles and gathered around him an unusually capable and public-spirited group of men and, although some may not have entirely fulfilled expectations, all are imbued with a sincere desire to serve the city to the best of their ability. The city is the object of their solicitude. Public welfare is their first consideration. This is a great gain, even though every appointment may not prove to be a wise one.

The Low administration has another difficulty in that it must weld into a city party and administration the various elements coöperating in his election. The Organization Needed. scheming politicians, as represented by the

Tammany and Philadelphia organizations, win their battles by the very compactness and completeness of their organization. They move and work like the trained regular armies that they are. They are always at it, between as well as at elections. Mayor Low was elected by a fusion of forces at the polls, a considerable part of which represented dissatisfaction with the conduct of the hitherto dominant party, but not necessarily a full and complete renunciation of it. These men will have a tendency to revert to their former ties unless they can be made to see and realize that the redemption of the city depends upon a permanent disregard of party interests and ties in municipal affairs. Accordingly, if the Citizens' Union can be made the nucleus of a permanent organization of the voters of New York, based on the principle of the coöperation of all men, whether Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Prohibitionists, who want clean and wholesome government in New York and who are ready and willing to work for it, then one of the burdens of Mayor Low will be materially lightened. The need for such a permanent citizens' body was voiced by President Wheeler H. Peckham, of the City Club, in a speech made after the November election: "The last four years in New York have emphatically shown the necessity for an organization which shall aim at good city government. As a mere spasmodic effort to reform an existing evil, the present result is not a great one, but as an earnest of what is to come it is important and encouraging. Citizens must recognize that control of the city government will always be a tremendous prize for political

rascals, and, if they desire to obtain all the advantages of the present victory, they must organize and continue their organization for all time."

Abram S. Hewitt expressed the same thought:—

"I am well aware that the Fusion party is a heterogeneous organization, and that perfect organization in such circumstances is more or less difficult, but now is the time for organization. The motive for fusion has ceased, because Tammany has been put out. What is the substitute? A love for good government, a determination to have it. The Citizens' Union, which represents the citizens who desire good government, has had, perhaps, a languishing existence. Now is the time, when it has demonstrated its strength, to strengthen it further."

That the Low administration would escape criticism was not to be expected. The character of the comments thus far made,

Criticism of the Low Administration. however, are of a most encouraging kind. In the first place, it shows how high an estimate has been placed upon the character and ability of Mayor Low and his colleagues. In the second place, it is an evidence of the advance and development of public sentiment. Many things have been subjected to criticism under this administration which would have escaped it altogether under the Strong administration and been regarded as inevitable. In a way, the standards of a people are evidenced by the objects of their criticism. Judged by this canon, the people of New York have made really wonderful progress. As a matter of fact, Mayor Low is entitled to regard the bulk of the criticism that has been directed at his administration as in the nature of a compliment and as illustrating the value of his mayoralty campaigns.

In forming any just estimate of his administration thus far, we must bear in mind that he received a big heritage of old methods and instrumentalities. He could not begin *de novo*, but was compelled to take conditions as he found them and slowly but surely reform and remodel them. This has notably been the case with the police force. With but a few exceptions it is the same now as under Tammany, and under the law cannot be changed. What progress has been made has been accomplished through the different spirit which has been infused into the force by the head. In time this will work its way all

through and will manifest itself in all departments, but this will require time and patience. New York City human nature is much the same now as under Tammany, and the political millenium cannot be ushered in at once by a few public-spirited citizens and officials, no matter how earnest and self-sacrificing they may be.

We must not expect too much too soon from the Low administration, for it is working for reforms which have to do with men's opinions and sentiments, and these are changed but slowly. Mayor Low has to change these. If "to excite the desire for higher standards is the true work of reformers," then, indeed, has he succeeded.

The Low campaign was waged upon a positive platform, and the Low administration bids fair to succeed because of its fulfilment of its positive promises. The day of mere negative work in municipal affairs is passing. The reformer is not only seeking to destroy the hideous features of municipal evil and corruption, but to build up in their place and stead an enduring structure of substantial achievement. Party lines are being broken up in municipal elections because of this introduction of new and purely municipal issues. Public ownership of municipal monopolies has been such an one, and where it has been pressed to the front has succeeded in relegating the old worn-out issues to the rear. This is notably the case in Cleveland, where Mayor Johnson has won two successive victories in a Republican city because of his advocacy of municipal ownership.

The question of the franchises of public service corporations continues to absorb a large share of public attention.

Bribery and Public Service Corporations. As has been pointed out in previous reviews, these corporations and their relations to the city have formed a serious menace to the

morals and probity of the city and its representatives. This has been illustrated time and again during the past year. The recent developments in St. Louis have perhaps attracted the most attention and the most clearly illustrate the dangers of the relationship. The case is this:

Recently a street railroad company desiring to sell its property at an exorbitant price to a rival company, and find-

ing it impossible to do so by negotiation, caused to be introduced into the municipal assembly a blanket franchise bill authorizing it to run over the tracks of its rival in every part of the city. To secure the passage of this bill, the sum of \$135,000 was deposited in a box in one of the safe-deposit companies, necessary keys to which were divided between the representatives of the railroad and the representatives of the councilmanic combine,—it being agreed between them that as soon as the bill became a law the money might be appropriated and distributed by the combine. The combine performed its undertaking, but the passage of the bill was blocked by the supreme court of the state, just before the adjournment of the assembly. A controversy immediately arose over the \$135,000, the combine contending that it had done what it had agreed to do, and the railroad that it had received no benefit from their action. To force the railroad to surrender the money, a sort of blackmail was begun, which resulted in the officers of the company being compelled to put up various sums of money to avoid unpleasant disclosures. This blackmail became so burdensome that the president and the legislative agent of the company finally went to the prosecuting attorney, turned state's evidence and gave away the whole matter, being promised, of course, immunity for himself and his associates. The evidence laid before the grand jury was overwhelmingly convincing, and five indictments were immediately returned. Of those indicted, one has been convicted, two are fugitives from justice, and the remainder are awaiting trial.

What is significant in the matter is that as soon as one indictment was secured, the grand jury had no difficulty in procuring all the evidence it desired with respect to municipal corruption. Banks, trust companies, supply agents, ex-members of the municipal assembly, directors of corporations interested in contracts, officers of street railroads, light companies, gas companies, were summoned, and all seemed to have the same purpose: to break up, if possible, a nefarious system which has for many years cursed the city. Those who were unwilling to testify were implicated by their friends and compelled to do so. The conviction was secured in an extra-

ordinary case. One of the members of the council had worthless stock. He sold it to the legislative agent of the railroad company at par. It was proved that he had obstructed the passage of the bill, and was approached by the legislative agent of the council. The trade, as it was called, was procured by the latter. The state established the worthlessness of the stock, the intervention of the boodler, and produced a check payable to the order of the boodler and the member of the council. It further established the fact that the member of the council had tried to avoid putting his signature upon the check. The evidence was altogether circumstantial, as the member of the council voted against the bill; but his opposition was withdrawn.

In Grand Rapids there has been a similar scandal touching the water company, and the city attorney and other officials are either under sentence or awaiting trial. So in Wheeling, West Virginia, nine councilmen, including the president of the second branch, are under indictment for forming a conspiracy to sell their votes in bulk to assist a certain street railway franchise. While no indictments followed the passing of certain street railway franchises in Philadelphia, the city and the country were shocked and scandalized by the bold disregard of public sentiment on the part of the councils, and the curt refusal of the Mayor of the city to give even a cursory consideration of the offer of a responsible citizen of \$2,500,000 for the franchise, who deposited a quarter of a million dollars as an earnest of good faith.

In the light of the Wheeling situation, and of the facts disclosed by the St. Louis grand jury to the effect that \$395,000 was given by one street railway company for the passage of a favorable ordinance, that \$135,000 had been deposited for the payment of councilmen for another, that \$25,000 a year had been made by some assemblymen, that \$50,000 had been offered by a capitalist for a vote, and had led to his indictment, it is hard to understand how the Philadelphia councilmen and Mayor were so improvident as to grant to private corporations, without restrictions and consideration, franchises conservatively estimated to be worth \$10,000,000.

Taking another phase of the situation, the Taxpayers' Association of Cincinnati, in a recent publication, asks the following questions:

"How does it happen—

"That, when the property of the street railroad and light combines were being valued by the board of supervisors, they said: 'We know the value is there, but fear to violate the law and our oath of office in placing it upon the tax duplicate, because we did not see it with our own eyes, and the companies stated to us that they did not have it?'

"That the Cincinnati Street Railroad Company expended \$17,460,000 to acquire \$2,600,000 worth of taxable property?

"That the light combine pays dividends on \$28,000,000, and owns but \$2,500,000 worth of tangible property?

"That in 1899 the state board, upon the advice of attorneys for the Cincinnati Street Railroad Company, and without hearing the other side, reduced the valuation of that company by \$283,975, which was never replaced?

Similar questions are being asked all over the country, and while the conditions which give rise to them are dangerous and prejudicial to public welfare, their asking is an encouraging sign of the times. If the people were not awakening to the situation and its gravity, these questions would not be asked by bodies like the Taxpayers' Association of Cincinnati.

In view of the undeniable dangers incident to the grant of public franchises to private corporations, is it any wonder that public men are saying as one close student did only last month:

"Debauchery of public representatives, contempt for the opinion of the consumer, shameless watering of stock, frequent oppression of workmen—these are the common sins of our franchise-owners, sins which make it wiser to run the risk of imperfect management than to continue the certain disadvantages of private control."

The overwhelming vote in favor of municipal ownership at the Chicago election of last month: 124,100 to 10,500 for the

Municipal Ownership. public ownership of gas, electric lights, heat and power plants, and 125,594 to 25,987 for the public ownership of all the street railways, shows the drift of public sentiment. Chicago, it is true, may not be ready for such an experiment, but this vote indicates how heartily tired its people are of the scandals and

corruption incident to the private ownership of municipal monopolies, and it may also mean that the people realize that it is doubtful whether they have the right to put into the hands of a few the power to make enormous profits at the expense of the many, even if there were no corruption.

This Chicago vote is the most significant event of the year in the matter of franchises, with the exception of Governor Crane's veto of the subway ordinance. He uttered words of great moment when he said in his message:

"The surrender of rights which belong to the public, even for a brief term of years, should be permitted only . . . for controlling reasons of public policy. . . . This bill, however, while it does not restrict the company, ties the hands of the community. . . . I am unable to give my assent to a bill which thus restricts the rights of the public, . . . while . . . it insures valuable exclusive privileges to the company in question for so long a period."

Words like these are invigorating, and strengthen the hands of those who are working for the public good. They constitute a standard of public conduct not only worthy of emulation, but which inspire emulation.

The work of bodies like the Public Franchise League of Massachusetts, the Detroit Municipal League, the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, the several civic bodies of Chicago, to mention only a few of the many which are at work in this field, has not only been pursued in the right spirit, and in the right direction, but has been fruitful of concrete results.

The movement for uniform municipal accounting has made steady progress during the past year. The League's committee report will indicate its extent. This work, which the Boston "Transcript" has described as one "of the most important undertakings" of the League, has been pursued with painstaking care and has been received with generous support. The report of the expert accountant* employed to investigate the Brookline accounts has thus described the situation:

"Various suggestions in regard to details have been made in the body of this report, most of which have been advanced in order to bring the accounts into line with the requirements

*Harvey S. Chase, of Boston.

of the 'Uniform System of Municipal Accounting' of the National Municipal League. This system has been drawn up by a committee of experts upon municipal affairs, accounts and statistics, and is intended to bring about, as far as is practicable, uniform methods of accounting in cities, so that it may be possible for the officials, and indeed for any intelligent citizen in any municipality which adopts this system, to quickly and easily compare the expenditures for any department or sub-department of their own city with the corresponding departments in other municipalities. The advantage of such a uniform system as a check upon extravagance or carelessness in municipal expenditures and for the purpose of obtaining reliable city statistics are too evident to require enumeration."

This work has been made the subject of debate and consideration in organizations like the American Economic Association and the American Statistical Association, as well as in bodies like the American League of Municipalities. Furthermore, it has been taken up by the controllers and financial officers of leading cities. Already Boston and Baltimore have recast their accounts in accordance with the League's schedules, and a number of other cities are at work to the same end, so that within a year it is expected the accounts of at least a dozen cities will be made up in accordance with the League's schedules. The Chicago accounts are also to be made up along the same lines as a result of their study and examination during the past two years by a score of experts.

The work of establishing the merit system in the cities proceeds with substantial if not rapid progress. As in other fields of municipal activity, New York forms the storm center. As long as Tammany remained in power the Civil Service Reform Association continued its hard battle for the adequate and honest enforcement of the law. The White Civil Service Act, passed during Governor Roosevelt's term, is one of the strictest civil service statutes in existence in this country, and it gave the Association ample opportunity to carry cases of evasion and violation to the courts. As a result, the Association has been able to hold its own during the last year, and to make up some of the ground lost during the first year and a half of the Tammany régime. The advent of the new administration, with its

**The
Merit System
in Cities.**

pledges to sustain the merit system, was hailed with great hopes by the civil service reformers. A commission of seven was appointed, with George McAneny, who for the past ten years has been assistant secretary and then secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League and the New York Civil Service Reform Association, as secretary. This of itself is a guarantee of honest and effective work for the merit system. Two members of the former commission were retained. While it is too early to pass judgment, the commission has proved itself to be unwieldy. No investigations of any importance have yet taken place, and the number of exemptions have alarmed some who think they see in such action a precedent for far-reaching evasion under a hostile administration. As regards these exemptions, however, it must be stated that the requests have not come from those who are seeking to use the offices as political spoils. They have been made largely because of the necessary retention of the system of examinations in force under the Tammany board.

Within the past few weeks the mayor and the secretary of the commission have undertaken a measure of reform which will be of great benefit to the service. It provides for a reclassification of the titles of positions now in use in the departments, and a regrading of the salaries, so that the same kind of work in different departments shall be paid at the same rate. At present all is in disorder. There are far too many titles in use, and this leads to a corresponding excess in the number of eligible lists. The plan is for the Civil Service Commission to draw up a list of titles for which it will hold examinations, and then get the departments to use these titles, and these only. By a strict classification as to salaries, it will be possible to carry out a thorough promotion system, admitting persons to the lower grades, and then promoting them from grade to grade by means of examination. A reorganization of the service is in progress which was much needed, and will no doubt lead to greater uniformity and simplicity.

Thus much attention has been given to this phase of the New York situation because it illustrates so aptly the difficulties confronting the administration. There are no more sincere friends of the merit system in this country, with the possible

exception of President Roosevelt, than Mayor Low and the secretary of the Civil Service Commission, but their loyalty to the cause cannot immediately overcome all the obstacles which a hostile administration bequeathed them.

In Massachusetts during the past year the Cities of Lowell, Milton and Quincy have voluntarily sought from the Massachusetts commissioners extensions of the civil service system. The Legislature has passed an important general act applying the civil service rules to the police and fire forces of any town in the commonwealth where the act shall be accepted by the voters. The town of Revere has already accepted the act.

The situation in San Francisco shows decided improvement over last year, when, it will be remembered, all the county officers were exempted by the courts from civil service examination. At present the police and the civil service commissioners are working in unison under the law. In Ohio the Municipal Code already mentioned includes among its provisions a good plan for a merit system, which was partly framed in accordance with suggestions made by a committee from the Cincinnati Civil Service Reform Association. Another bill is pending designed to provide a civil service law for the City of Cleveland only. The people of Cleveland are in favor of such a law, but there are political forces at work against the passage of the bill which may be successful in postponing it. The Supreme Court of Ohio decided that the removal of the civil service commission of Columbus by the Mayor of that city was illegal. This will have the effect of firmly establishing the system in that city. The City of St. Paul, Minn., is about to vote on a civil service law which will come up in the form of an amendment to the charter. The civil service section will be submitted to the voters by itself, and stand or fall on its own merits.

The situation in Chicago is far better than it has ever been before. Commissioner Ela is authority for the statement that the merit system is to be extended to the teachers of the public schools, and to the employees of the public parks. He adds: "There seems to be a general wakening on the subject of civil service reform which we who are interested in the reform believe is largely due to the satisfaction of our people with the way in which our city civil service law is being enforced." In

Iowa the Legislature at the present session has just enacted a law placing the police and firemen under civil service rules in cities having 60,000 or more inhabitants. In Seattle, Washington, an attack was recently made upon the merit system in the shape of amendments which, if they had been adopted, would practically have abolished the system. All these amendments, however, which looked to a change in the civil service regulations were defeated in the city council, and none of them will be submitted to the people at the coming election.

I wish it were possible to refer in detail to the multitude of reports which have been issued by our affiliated members

Reports of during the past year. They cover a great
Affiliated variety of subjects and represent an amount of
Members. labor in behalf of the public welfare and higher
standards which is highly encouraging. So long as our cities possess citizens who are willing to give their time and means for the study and investigation of municipal affairs, we need not despair of the outlook.

Take the reports of the Baltimore organization as an illustration. During the year the Baltimore Reform League has issued its annual report, including the report of the counsel in investigating the character and antecedents of the judges and clerks of election, the former to the number of 1,400, the latter to about 700; the investigation of naturalization lists; the correction of registration books and prosecutions for illegal registrations; a special report dealing with the November, 1901, election and its outcome and influence; an address to the Republican and Democratic conventions concerning its corrupt practices, civil service reform and ballot reform bills; as well as, a number of supplementary reports. The Arundel Club, of Baltimore, prepared as a result of two years' labor a report on the subject of school attendance. This has been published, as also a compulsory attendance bill, which, thanks to its unremitting efforts, became the law for Baltimore City and Allegheny County on April 10, 1902.

The bulletins of the Citizens' Association of Chicago, the various publications of the New York City Club, the reports of the Municipal Leagues of Philadelphia and Detroit, and of the Cleveland Municipal Association, all constitute substantial con-

tributions to the subject of municipal development, and moreover outline an amount of work which furnishes substantial ground for encouragement and hopefulness as to the future.

The concrete achievements of the past year have been more numerous and far-reaching than in any preceding one. A number have been referred to already. It now remains to call attention to some of the others which are typical and which are significant alike in themselves and in the tendencies which they represent.

In Wilmington, Del., there has been a concerted effort to uncover and punish municipal corruption. Public sentiment

Municipal Successes. has been strongly aroused, and a thorough municipal house-cleaning is expected as a result. Several officials have already pleaded guilty and a number are under indictment. Two members of the board of directors of the street and sewer department have been compelled to resign, and this department, as well as several others, has passed into the hands of honest and capable men, and the work is still in progress.

Mayor Rolla Wells, of St. Louis, was elected on a platform which was said to have struck the highest note of any St. Louis municipal campaign. Twelve months of his administration are said to constitute "a justification of the faith which the voters placed in the professions of his platform. The reforms which were demanded have either been secured or are in a fair way to be established. The administration has shown its devotion to the public welfare. The padded pay rolls have disappeared. The business of the municipal corporation is being conducted on lines which obtain in private commercial concerns. The percentage of waste has decreased to a remarkable degree. Officials are earning their salaries. Advantage has been taken of the charter amendments to push forward the work of street and sewer improvement. At the present time many miles of thoroughfare are being reconstructed. Plans are afoot for the extension of the boulevard system. From a moral view-point the year has been satisfactory. Through the personal character of the chief officials the standard of official performance has been raised. Attempts to open pool-rooms have been frustrated. This initial stand for righteousness brought on a feud

between the forces of good and evil which culminated in an investigation by two grand juries," to which attention has already been called.

In Kansas City, Mo., the recent election demonstrated that the "voters at least are no longer party-bound, and that there is a strong sentiment in favor of the city owning and controlling the public service corporations." The Mayor made his fight squarely on these issues and upon the strict enforcement of the law against the public corporations. He favored a municipal electric light plant and an increase in the assessment of the existing light plant. Notwithstanding he was a Democrat in a normally Republican city, and that he had a number of the influential papers against him, he won out on these issues by an unusually large majority.

Mayor Granger, who as a Democrat was elected Mayor in the Republican City of Providence, R. I., at the presidential election, was reëlected in November by a still larger majority. His administration and his attitude on street railway transfers formed the issues of the campaign. J. N. Adam was elected an alderman in Buffalo on an independent ticket as an avowed municipal ownership candidate. Moreover, a substantial victory was won in the defeat in a number of bad aldermen and the election of a number of candidates pledged to observe the wishes of the people.

The candidate of the Municipal League of Philadelphia for the minority representative in the new Court of Common Pleas was elected by upwards of 40,000 majority over his Democratic competitor. The personal registration constitutional amendments which the League drafted six years ago and has since piloted through three legislatures (in one of which it was defeated) and over the veto of the governor, were approved by an overwhelming majority by the voters of Pennsylvania, every county except one giving a favorable majority. This is the first time the present constitution of Pennsylvania has been amended since its adoption in 1874. This success represents a great forward step for the cause of honest elections. At the February election the League elected 308 election officers, i. e., 45 judges, 221 inspectors, and 42 assessors. This represents the practical work which it is

carrying on and is justly regarded as a great gain for the cause of good government.

The Pittsburg overthrow was truly a magnificent triumph of decent citizenship. Pittsburg has been made the cat's paw of contending politicians; its interests have Pittsburg. been subordinated to those of the ring, and the people arose in their might and demonstrated their indignation and power. That the success of the movement means progress is shown by the following statement of one who was actively identified with the Citizens' Committee: "Pittsburg is largely indebted to the National Municipal League for the solid foundations upon which the Pittsburg municipal reformers have erected their work for offensive operations against corrupt machine government. The recent great victory which has at last crowned their efforts is a sufficient warrant both for the continuance of the work of the National Municipal League and for its generous support by those who have been benefited and who will continue to be benefited a thousandfold more in the near future."

The Municipal Voters' League of Chicago Chicago. has triumphed again. As was said the day after the election:

"Congratulations are in order upon the substantial and remarkable triumph for the forces of municipal honesty and decency. Yesterday's election has resulted in an increase of the upright and trustworthy majority of the City Council. It is not extravagant to say that the late Council was one of the best in the country, but the independent voter of Chicago has made the new Council still better and cleaner and more representative of the soundest citizenship of this great municipality. Morally the defeat of the corrupt and discredited element is absolutely complete."

Last year attention was called to the remarkable work accomplished by the League. This year has seen it still further triumph. While it is true Chicago has not retired all the survivors of the "boodle régime," four of the wards which were regarded as hopelessly lost to good government have been redeemed. Of the thirteen candidates condemned by the Municipal Voters' League as totally unfit, six have been prevented from invading the Council. Twenty-eight of the

"League's candidates"—that is, of the men who, on their record or general reputation and character, received that body's indorsement—will have seats in the new Council.

To be sure, several of the more notorious candidates were elected, and their success was heralded throughout the country by the sensational press as if nothing else had occurred in Chicago on that day, and the far more important matter of the victory of the Voters' League was given no notice. As a consequence, the impression went abroad that the forces of decency had been defeated, whereas they have gained another great victory, and Chicago has furnished a sterling example of persistent well-doing.

The success of the Municipal League has led to the formation of a Legislative Voters' League, which has undertaken the difficult task of elevating and reforming the general assembly, by demanding that a "candidate for a seat in either branch of the Legislature of our state shall have intelligence enough to understand the meaning of that oath in its most complete and best sense, and, having taken that oath, that he shall have such a record for integrity and character as will justify a firm belief on the part of the people that he will keep it."

At the November, 1901, election in San Francisco, eleven out of the eighteen Supervisors holding office at that time were

Further Victories. reëlected, thus showing the approval of the public of what has been probably the best Board

of Supervisors San Francisco has ever had, a statement that is supported by the fact that the last board went out of office without even a charge of wilful wrong-doing having been brought against it. In Rochester the Good Government Club has succeeded in taking the schools out of politics. It has never had the confidence of the people as it has to-day, and I am told "that there is so much favorable expression on all sides that an independent good government ticket will be run at the next election."

The Municipal Association of Cleveland continues to exert a potent influence for good. Last fall, although ordinarily confining itself to matters more strictly municipal, the Association expressed the opinion that the election of competent and trustworthy men to the Legislature was a prime necessity as

affecting county and municipal affairs. In carrying out its convictions in this matter, the Association proceeded to the endorsement of legislative candidates. It happened that more Democratic candidates were endorsed than Republican. This was regarded by Republican politicians as an assault upon their ticket in general and as a recommendation of the Democratic ticket. In making their nominations, however, the Democrats used extraordinary care in the selection of the best men available, while the Republicans nominated an ordinary ticket, and in some instances nominated highly objectionable candidates. Many voters ordinarily disposed to follow the Association in its recommendations for municipal office were undoubtedly inclined to believe that matters such as were presented in this campaign belong properly in the province of state politics, and they were therefore inclined to act upon this belief. Among the candidates for the lower house, those recommended by the Association received an average plurality of 1,600 over those not recommended, while those recommended on the Republican ticket ran ahead of the others an average of 1,200. As to the county recommendations, which were more strictly within the line of the association work, two positive recommendations were made for two offices, while three other offices were left without recommendation. The average plurality of those recommended over those not recommended was 3,013. The only Republican elected on the entire county ticket was the candidate for common pleas judge, short term. To him the Association gave the strongest recommendation contained in its bulletin.

The recently formed Omaha Municipal League scored an encouraging success in its first campaign. It published a statement of the personal history, character and qualifications of the different candidates, and then recommended the election of five candidates for the School Board, four from one party and one from another, the latter as the least liable to be controlled by the machine. The entire list so recommended was elected by very satisfactory majorities. The League also made a recommendation in respect to police judge, which was based upon the personal qualifications of the opposing candidates. This was also followed by the voters.

The Public School Association of Boston has a creditable record of service. It has conducted four campaigns. In the first it elected one of its candidates; in its Boston. second, four; in its third, five; in its fourth, seven; in all sixteen. As members of the board serve three years, sixteen out of twenty-four members of the Boston School Committee owe their election to the Association. Among these sixteen members are men of the highest ability and great public usefulness. The others, while not so well known, are men and women of unquestioned earnestness and capacity. Behind them is an awakened community, caring for the schools. This result has been wrought out by a handful of public-spirited people taking independent action, living down the contempt of the parties, and keeping persistently at work with a steady, undeviating purpose. The habit of party voting and inertia has been largely overcome, and the politicians have had to give serious heed to this movement, whose chief power has lain in its being right.

The news which comes to us from Portland, Oregon, although of a somewhat different character, is quite as gratifying.

Portland, Oregon. A new charter has been formulated by an exceptionally well-equipped commission. Hitherto it has been customary for the politicians at the state capital to prepare and pass such a charter as they saw fit. In fact, it was notorious that the city's last charter was carried around in the pocket of one of the most worthless of the politicians until the latter part of the legislative session, when it was enacted into law. It was not even read by the Legislature that passed it, and the official record in regard to this was, I understand, incorrect. As a matter of fact, no one knew what was in it except the little circle of politicians who had drafted it for their own purpose. The new charter board has worked diligently at drafting the new charter and has made a most admirable adaptation of the old. The city has just had in operation for the first time a new primary law, and, although this is somewhat defective, it has worked admirably, the number of votes cast in the primaries of the Republican party, the dominant party in the city, exceeding the number that were cast here for President McKinley at the last election, showing

that a full representation of the party was out in the primaries. They were conducted with absolute fairness, and no complaint was made upon the score of any little combination manipulating the primaries.

Thomas N. Strong, the Pacific coast Vice-President of the League, writes : "I have to report the usual movement in favor of improvement in city affairs that is now prevailing throughout the whole country. We have civic improvement societies in almost every ward, and they are actively at work tearing down unsightly obstructions and beautifying the city. The educational work that has been done in this city for the last ten or fifteen years is bearing fruit abundantly. The reports of the National Municipal League were very largely used by the charter commission and have been much read here in the last two or three years. As you can see by the explanatory note in the proposed charter, some elementary truths are obtaining lodgment in the public mind, and we are now in a fair way of reaping something of that which we have sown."

The vigorous campaign waged in Harrisburg, Pa., and its successful outcome constitute "one of the most encouraging signs of the better municipal spirit now gaining power." This city has always been conservative to an exceptional degree; but in May, 1901, sixty of its citizens got together, agreeing upon the need of certain public improvements, and raised a fund with which to forward them in the best manner practicable. Competent engineers, landscape architects and experts were retained, including three from distant cities where similar improvements had been satisfactorily made. A plan was finally agreed upon by which an incomparably better water system, a modern sewage system, and the beginnings of a good system of parks and playgrounds might be secured by the expenditure of a million dollars. The men who led in this movement were taxpayers who must themselves directly bear the cost of their public-spirited recommendations. The sixty men who formed the League which has had these improvements in hand themselves paid one-eighth of all the taxes paid in Harrisburg. Before bringing their proposal for the issue of bonds before the people, they took the precaution to secure the

appointment of a Board of Public Improvements whose character guaranteed to the voters that the money appropriated would be judiciously spent. The campaign waged for the loan was in the highest degree educational and resulted in a big vote for the loan and a majority of 2,500 for Vance McCormick, the candidate for mayor favored by the advocates of the improvement and himself one of the largest contributors to the original fund, and one of the most unremitting in his endeavors for a new Harrisburg.

In this connection it is my profound conviction that the work being done in all our leading cities in the line of public improvements is making for better municipal conditions, as is the work of bodies like the American League for Civic Improvements and the American Park and Outdoor Art Association. Certainly the most important happenings of a municipal nature in Washington during the past year has been the publication of the plans for the improvement and adornment of our capital city. By direction of the U. S. Senate, a commission composed of three expert landscape architects, Daniel H. Burnham, of Chicago; Frederick Law Olmstead, Jr., of Brookline, and Mr. Charles F. McKim, of New York city, has prepared a plan for the improvement of the park system of the City and its public places and buildings. With the execution of these plans Washington will be the most beautiful city in the world. Similar movements in other cities are making for a higher municipal life, and when completed will have wrought a great change in our municipal ties. The suggestion of the establishment of a "model city" in connection with the St. Louis fair, in which the League is coöperating, is a step in the same direction.

In whichever direction we may look we see grounds for encouragement. Advances have been made in all quarters, and while the municipal problem is still a difficult one to solve and calls for the exercise of the wisest statesmanship and the greatest public spirit, we are persuaded that it can be solved. The appreciable progress accomplished within the period covered by the history of the League furnishes a most reasonable and substantial basis for a hopeful outlook.

Harrisburg's Advance: A Lesson to Smaller Municipalities

By J. HORACE MCFARLAND

The capital city of Pennsylvania, with great advantages of geographical situation, and surrounded by much natural beauty, has, during its one hundred and seventeen years of existence, grown away from its original village comeliness and cleanliness, in a manner not very different from that of the usual Middle States city. Utility has been the main thought, and little advantage has been taken of the elements of beauty present in the location and the landscape. Indeed, the mile-wide, magnificent, island-dotted Susquehanna river, cutting through the hills just north of the city, has, I venture to say, appealed to the average citizen only as a source of water-supply and of floods, and as a convenient means for sewage disposal. Though Harrisburg has for many years had a haphazard system of sewers, draining into the Susquehanna river for the most part, and though there are a few acres of inadequate parks, the conditions as to drainage, water-supply, and park facilities have been becoming more and more intolerable. The main body of the citizens has seemed to care very little for any improvements, though a few enthusiasts, the newspapers, and a Civic Club of public-spirited women, have for years been calling attention to our obvious deficiencies and dangers.

But in the fullness of time Harrisburg has awakened, and because of the hopefulness of the forward movement in a city of less than 50,000 inhabitants, I am asked to tell you how it came about.

On December 20, 1900, Mira Lloyd Dock, a most energetic member of the Harrisburg Civic Club, presented an illustrated talk on "The City Beautiful" before a large number of Harrisburg's citizens. She contrasted our disgusting civic conditions with those existing elsewhere under more enlightened methods.

**The City
Beautiful.**

talk on "The City Beautiful" before a large number of Harrisburg's citizens. She contrasted our disgusting civic conditions with those existing elsewhere under more enlightened methods.

Hundreds of men then realized for the first time that a beautiful river-bank was not the best place for a public "dump," and that a modern city owes its inhabitants something more than taxation, police-protection, typhoid-laden water, imperfect sewerage, and partial fire-protection.

This meeting brought about a conference of a few thoughtful and now fully awakened citizens. In April, 1901, a pictorial suggestion in the *Harrisburg Telegraph*, the local daily which has been most earnest in all this movement, as to an improvement of the river-bank, aroused discussion concerning means and methods, and led up to a letter published May 3, 1901, in the same paper, in which Mr. J. V. W. Reynders proposed that a fund of five thousand dollars be raised for an expert investigation and report with regard to Harrisburg's problems of water-supply, sewerage and parks. Mr. Reynders himself started the fund, the newspapers and the best citizens joined in heartily, and in ten days (on May 13), the completion of the subscription was announced.

A meeting and organization of those who had subscribed this fund followed, at which the broadest possible discussion was had, and at which was apparent a most earnest spirit of progress among citizens long deemed hopelessly conservative. **The Harrisburg League.**

The Harrisburg League for Municipal Improvements organized as a consequence of the meeting just mentioned, and appointed an Executive Committee with power to employ experts. The Mayor, City Engineer, and a representative from each branch of the City Councils were invited to act with this committee. After careful inquiry, three eminent engineers were retained: Mr. James H. Fuertes, of New York, to report upon the sewerage and filtration problems; Mr. Warren H. Manning, of Boston, to formulate plans for parks; and Mr. M. R. Sherrerd, of Newark, N. J., to discuss the question of paving. These gentlemen promptly took up the work, and early in the fall of 1901 three comprehensive and most satisfactory reports, explained by numerous detail diagrams and drawings, were presented to the Executive Committee.

It was found that Harrisburg's debt could be increased by \$1,090,000 upon consent of the voters, according to a constitu-

tional provision limiting the debt to seven per cent of the assessed valuation. There was, therefore, great satisfaction when it appeared that the recommendations of the engineers for filtration, sewerage revision, the beginning of a park system, etc., would, under proper handling, be within the city's resources.

The reports of the engineers, with a selection of the maps and diagrams, and a concise summary and recommendation
Proposed by the Executive Committee, were published
Improvements. in pamphlet form under the title of "Proposed Municipal Improvements for Harrisburg, Pa.," and this pamphlet, unfortunately now out of print, is yet in constant request from other interested municipalities.

Like other cities, Harrisburg has, in addition to those unprogressive citizens who cannot see beyond the penny upon which their eyes are always focused, a large class needing only argument and information to bring it in line with progress. It was obvious, therefore, that a campaign of education was required. The whole movement so far being unofficial, it was necessary to secure legislation by Councils, in order that the vote authorizing the loan might be had. We realized at the outset that if the voters could not be assured that the extra loan they were asked to authorize would be spent without the waste usual under political methods, we could not hope for a successful result. After thorough discussion, an ordinance was very carefully drawn, submitting the debt question for specific purposes to the voters, and this ordinance was accompanied by another creating a Board of Public Works, to be appointed under conditions that would make its personality known before the citizens should vote upon the loan.

Here was a danger point, but so careful was the management that both of these ordinances were promptly and unanimously passed by the Councils, which also appointed three citizens of unquestioned integrity and ability, approved by the League for Municipal Improvements, as the Board of Public Works.

So much for the preliminary work. The campaign of education was conducted under the hands of a Campaign Committee, including men of both political parties, all of them in active business or professional life. A headquarters was opened on

a prominent street, where information could be obtained, and where the plans for these improvements were displayed. Various sub-committees were appointed, including a Press Committee, which, with the enthusiastic, earnest and efficient coöperation of the three daily papers of the town, presented fresh matter on the proposed improvements every day, without a break, from January 1 until election day, February 18. A large edition of an abridged report, entitled "The Plain Truth About the Harrisburg Improvements," was prepared, and through the agency of boys from the high school, a copy was placed in every house in the city. These same thirty-seven boys, one from each voting precinct, maintained a semi-weekly distribution of educative literature until election day. Cartoons were prepared for the newspapers, and toward the end of the campaign the bill-boards of the city blossomed out in great posters, urging the importance of a vote for the improvements.

A Committee on Coöperation wrote to every clergyman in the city urging his support, and a competent speaker explained the plan of improvement to the Ministerial Association at its meeting. Later, a representative visited every clergyman in person, asking the preaching of a sermon in favor of the improvements on the Sunday preceding the election. The effect of this was that three-fourths of the pulpits of the city rang with the question of the city's duty to its citizens, and the responsibility of the individual voter for cleanliness, pure water and modern parks, on Sunday, February 16. The Catholic bishop of the diocese issued a letter urging his parishioners to vote for improvements, and a Jewish rabbi joined in the movement. All Protestant denominations were as enthusiastic. Every organization in the city was written to, and copies of the abridged report furnished to its members.

While all the papers and the better element of the city, including every manufacturer, banker, doctor, preacher, and all really live business men, were heartily in favor of the improvements, there was a strong substratum of opposition, manifesting itself in one section in an actual house-to-house canvass against the movement. Some landlords threatened an

immediate and large increase in rents if the loan was voted. How this opposition was combated will appear later.

The funds necessary to carry on the campaign was obtained by a Finance Committee, which was able to raise among the citizens of the city something over five thousand dollars. In all, a total of \$10,221.55, which included the \$5,000 first subscribed, was obtained in voluntary contributions, for a purely unselfish public movement, and ninety per cent of it came from the sixty citizens who pay one-eighth of the taxes in the city. When it is considered that to raise an equivalent sum Philadelphia would have to give \$250,000, New York \$700,000, and Boston \$110,000, the measure of liberality of Harrisburg's citizens can be better understood.

The Committee on Meetings had before it the work of educating the citizens through voice and picture. The first public meeting of instruction, in the Court-House, was large and enthusiastic. Other meetings were held in various parts of the city, at which the lantern-slides presented before you now, with very many others, were shown.

We threw on the screen the actual ordinance on which the citizens were to vote, to remove misunderstanding and offset misrepresentation at the outset. Many foolish statements had been made by those either ignorant or prejudiced, and there was the regulation outcry that the movement was one of "the rich against the poor."

Our problem had to do largely with the disposal of the sewage of the city, and even more largely with the filtration of the water. I showed, therefore, in this work, pictures of the Susquehanna river. Five miles above Harrisburg the Pennsylvania railroad has just erected a magnificent four-track stone bridge, the largest stone railroad bridge in the world, I am informed. Coming down along the river, the conditions are beautiful and agreeable, the trees old and handsome. When we get into the city limits, however, the work of man is promptly seen, and the picture of a filthy dump always brought a gasp of surprise from those who had seen that same dump for years but had never realized that it was really offensive. Incidentally, the attention of the good people was called to the bill-boards

that shut out a magnificent river view, because we were after an improved public sentiment in this respect as well as in others. The low shores of the river, showing an exposed and stony beach covered with offensive matter from the outfalls of the sewers, where boys swam and played, were shown. Then, as a contrast, a beautiful avenue of Norway maples in bloom along the city's best residence street, close to which is the nasty dump in front of the home of a prominent gentleman, came before the astonished audience. I found in this work that beautiful things would not arouse, while ugly things did. The work could have been better done, it seems to me, if the pictures had been as malodorous as some of the places they showed; but a cartoon of old John Harris as he might have felt in revisiting the scene of his manhood's activities, usually emphasized the appeal of dump problem to the sense of smell.

Then came the lesson as to the condition of this river as it passed the city. The fact that over half a million people drain into the Susquehanna river above Harrisburg, and that the resulting polluted water is used unfiltered, was made more emphatic by a presentation on the screen of the typhoid fever statistics. It is an interesting commentary on our work that earnest investigation of the current cases of typhoid fever disclosed the fact that the doctors had not been obeying the law requiring a report of every case. The city officials were waked up, and the result was an apparently enormous increase of typhoid fever in January, that certainly helped us in arousing the people to their danger!

A part of the engineer's scheme for disposing of the sewage, which is now dumped into the river along the city's two miles of

**The Sewage
Problem.** water front, involved the erection of a low dam in the river near the city's southern limit, to

create a constant height of water and cover the sewer outfalls, as well as the low marshy spots exposed during the hot summer and giving rise to mosquitoes and odors of decaying vegetation. The proposed dam aroused more opposition than any other one item in our plan. It also introduced a little element of humor, for I was gravely assured at several meetings that a dam four and one-half feet high would inevitably cause a rise in the water level of that many feet, even

in a twenty-foot flood, with the result of flooding the lower end of the city disastrously. Verbal arguments failing, resource was had to the engineer's diagrams. A dangerous flood in the Susquehanna river at Harrisburg is one of twenty feet above low-water mark, and the probable effect of the dam on such a flood was shown by a diagram on the screen. As this was purely a calculated result, an actual experience was supplied, taken from a dam of the same character erected in a river in India. The piers of an old bridge were also used as marking spots for the height of the river after the dam should have been erected, and gradually the latter lost its terrors. An interesting incident occurred in the city ward closest to the site of the proposed dam. A ward politician of much influence had set himself positively against the proposed improvements, because of the dam. Visits to him by various improvers only seemed to render his opposition more determined. It was not until two ladies of the Civic Club took up the problem with him that he succumbed, and the result was that the ex-sheriff actually presided at a meeting in his ward, at which, after I had presented the subject and shown the pictures, he gravely told his people that any man who would not vote for as good a thing as that dam, was the kind of a fool best expressed by the name of the proposed obstruction! An opportune flood at this time came to just the danger line and no more, and a picture of that was promptly made and shown, as a further argument for the dam.

The sewage of two-fifths of our population is emptied into an open channel running through the center of Harrisburg. Paxton creek is a beautiful stream in our great natural park, which is euphoniously known as "Wetzel's Swamp." Winter or summer, the surroundings of this stream, where man has not interfered, are both beautiful and sanitary. Great trees line its banks, flowers border it. Lily-pads are found here and there, and when the thorn trees blossom in the spring the boys know where fishing is good. But when Paxton creek reaches the city, behold the work of man! Look closer, so that the details of our adornment of the stream can be fully seen! These dump pictures were usually productive of a great buzz of interest. I believe that ninety per cent of my hearers discovered for the first time that Paxton creek as an open sewer was nasty, when they saw

these truthful photographs. The same December flood that pointed our case on the river-front also helped us here, because we want to deepen and steepen the channel of this creek, and thus prevent such floods as were pictured graphically. One of the main sewers of the city, draining a large area, furnished another most telling illustration. All along this creek natural beauty has been turned to "civilized" nastiness. After showing as strongly as pictures could, conditions that are most unsightly and unwholesome, emphasis was put upon the fact that this creek at low water could receive properly the sewage of a thousand people, whereas we are discharging into it at all times the sewage of more than twenty thousand. The proposed new channel of Paxton creek was displayed by a diagram, in order to explain what we would do with it in connection with a great intercepting sewer to accompany the creek along its course, receiving all the dry-weather sewage and discharging only at flood-time into the creek. The city engineer's opinion on the economic feature of the case, gave us a strong argument for those taxpayers who care nothing about either esthetic or sanitary conditions.

I have mentioned before the inadequate parks maintained in Harrisburg. Of playgrounds we have none, unless the

Inadequate Parks. wretched school-yards used by the ladies of the Civic Club in the hot summer months, and

by them equipped with sand-boxes to give the children of the poor a little opportunity for diversion, can be called playgrounds. The two pictures of these school-yards, contrasted with an old orchard which it is hoped to include as a playground where the children may rest under the apple trees and pick dandelions at will, afforded a point at which I could usually see a strong awakening among the women of the audience. By the way, the same Civic Club to which I have several times alluded, through one of its admirable committees, presented the cause of improvements in every school in Harrisburg during the campaign, in a simple and most admirable statement, read aloud, and afterwards published. The gospel of cleanliness and beauty was carried home by many a tot to the father who could think of nothing but the possible increase in tax or rent.

Harrisburg has been dubbed the town of back yards, being more closely built up than many much larger cities. To emphasize this point, a row of back yards, facing what should have been a magnificent esplanade, was shown, because right here Mr. Manning wanted to bring in a parkway. The picture man could not resist a jab at the telegraph poles, which I am happy to say gives prospect of bearing fruit in a conduit system. The bill-boards also came in for attention, because in this particular case illustrated the bill-board shuts out what ought to be a small park. When the question was asked, "Which do you prefer: the trees on the banks, or the bill-boards on the streets?" there was usually a shout of "Trees!" The horrible tree-trimming of the city, if amputation can be called trimming, was touched upon here and there, and a mutilated tree remainder in front of a hideous school building was a good text for a word on municipal architecture. "The butcher in the act" awakened some people to the fact that a tree had rights. Factory conditions with relation to public beauty were touched carefully, in a manner not apparently offensive to a principal owner of one factory, who heard the talk and took the lesson, especially as it was contrasted with a Crimson Rambler rose on his own residence, as well as with several more sightly manufacturing establishments in the city.

Leading into the park question, the magnificent old elm at the gateway of our little Capitol Park was shown, with a plea for its preservation, for it has narrowly escaped mutilation as a living telegraph pole.

Open-water bathing is not encouraged in Harrisburg, and the fact that there was a place where bathing might be had on one of the islands in the Susquehanna river, included in Mr. Manning's park plan, was a surprise to the audience. The old Pennsylvania canal, just now being abandoned, has been the boys' bathing ground for many years.

I have touched but briefly on our great natural park of some five hundred acres, known as "Wetzel's Swamp." At present belonging as waste land to a score of owners, it is a place for tramps and outcasts, according to the ideas of most of our citizens, but to some of us it is a choice gift of the Creator, where his jewels of flowers afford a long glory of bloom, from

the first opening of the hepatica until the witch-hazel rings in the frost. In the work of interesting people I admitted that there was some marshy ground in this place, and that it has a good use, as evidenced in the iris, the rose-mallow, the marsh marigold, and the jack-in-the-pulpit. That it was not all a swamp, but a beautiful grassy pleasure-ground adorned with magnificent trees, was fully shown. It was a pleasure to have a prominent citizen of the town come to me, after one of the lectures, to say that he wanted me to promise him a visit to Wetzel's Swamp this spring, because in his fifty years' residence in Harrisburg he had never realized that so beautiful a place was within ten minutes' drive. The dutchman's breeches, wild phlox, spring beauty, and other flowers that carpet what we want now to call "Wetzel's Woods," were interesting to the audiences. The shy bloom of the may-apple and the flowering currant were contrasted with the magnificent trees, not to be obtained in a half-century's expensive effort, if we should disregard this ideal park foundation.

All through this discussion questions were invited, usually by means of an eight-foot interrogation mark on the screen.

Questions Asked and Answered. They came, too! One lively tilt was had with a bitter opponent, who followed us from meeting to meeting, only once developing into an open discussion, in which he attempted to make light of the deaths from typhoid fever, and insisted that the Susquehanna river water was good enough for any one to drink without filtration. When I truthfully told the audience, after this gentleman had made his statement, that he had a private filter in his own house, something happened! This meeting was held in a cold hall, and in a very cold part of the town for the improvements, but the insincerity of his opposition was so apparent that the chilly audience promptly hooted the kicker into silence.

The question of the cost to the taxpayer was one we could not disregard. Many of our citizens were perfectly willing to run their chances with typhoid fever or any other disease, rather than pay a cent of additional tax. Others were honestly afraid of a great burden of increase. The opposition helped us by circulating lying statements about the taxation. This

enabled us to present a statement of Harrisburg's tax rate as compared with that of other third-class cities in Pennsylvania, and to show that our taxes are among the lowest. Then a careful statement was made showing the actual cost of the proposed improvements to the taxpaper under probable conditions, as well as a statement showing the cost under the most favorable conditions. We had taken the precaution to have these statements verified in advance by the city's financial officials. In order that the man who paid rent might be interested, we showed him what he ought to pay, in increase of rent, as his share of the improvement cost. Many greedy landlords had already raised rents, alleging that the proposed improvements would largely increase their taxes. Their cupidity was properly rebuked by the statement of the actual increase, and that opposition soon reacted in our favor, tenants saying that if they had to pay the increase really due to an obvious scarcity of houses, they might as well vote for the improvements and enjoy their benefits.

As the campaign worked to a finish, the public meetings were changed from instruction to enthusiasm, and the last meeting, in the court-house, addressed by the Governor of the state, two clergymen, a senator, and a business man, was designed to arouse the local patriotism of the citizens. Our slogan became, "*Don't Give Your Own Town a Black Eye!*" Through the coöperation of the traction company, on the day preceding the election, a trolley-car was run all over the city, decorated with stirring appeals. At the same time all available space inside the cars was used in signs appealing to the laboring men. Our very last card to the voters was a four-page paper entitled "*The Harrisburg Plan*," filled with the most convincing arguments we could devise, and placed in every house in the city by our high-school corps of distributors, the Saturday night before the election. To the Sunday's work I have alluded briefly. One prominent Methodist clergyman held a mass meeting for men in his church in the afternoon, at which several addresses were made and every voter urged to do his duty. An Episcopal rector delivered a stirring improvement sermon, perfectly understood by his congregation, without even once mentioning Harrisburg!

When the Executive Committee met for a final round-up on the evening before the election, its members felt that everything that earnest enthusiasm and hearty coöperation could do had been done.

The political situation was perplexing, for a mayor, a city treasurer, and a city controller were to be elected, and the usual

A Complete Triumph. partisan struggle was going on. The Republican controller was an ideal official, whose

reëlection was desired, and the Democratic city

treasurer was in the same category. The Republican candi-

date for mayor was the regulation boss's candidate, a well-meaning but weak physician of the city, with no apparent interest in good government. He declined to place himself on record as favoring the improvements. The Democratic candidate for mayor was one of the heartiest supporters of the improvement movement. Most of the Municipal League

people were Republicans, and it can thus be seen that the situa-

tion was both interesting and difficult. The money for our

campaign had been contributed regardless of party, and in

doing our work in the voting precincts it was essential that

the League's work should be utterly free from all partisan

tendency. How to accomplish this, while employing the

usual party workers to see that citizens were urged to vote

upon the debt question, was a perplexing problem for a select

sub-committee, solved by it with notable efficiency.

The result of the election was everything that could be asked. Out of a total vote of 11,039, the debt or improvement measure received a majority of 3,590. The mayor we wanted was elected by 2,566, though a Democrat in a Republican city with the full power of the "machine" against him, and refusing absolutely to promise anything to anyone or to contribute a single dollar for influencing voters beyond the money required for the legitimate and ordinary expenses of the campaign. The efficient and upright Republican city controller was re-elected by a majority of 2,542, closely approximating, it will be seen, to that of the Democratic mayor, while at the same time the equally efficient and desirable Democratic city treasurer was reëlected by a slightly greater majority—2,789. The voters were selecting *men* this time, and not party candidates,

for they even took the best three out of six rather indifferent candidates for city assessors, two Republicans and one Democrat being elected.

As things stand to-day, our Board of Public Works has begun its operations with wise conservatism, the mayor—Vance C. Mayor McCormick, a young man of brilliant promise and great ability—has taken hold of the problems of city government in a manner marvelous

to behold, and the situation is full of hope. Of the mayor I want to say a few words. A member of a noted and wealthy family of iron-masters in Pennsylvania, with no inducement whatever to go into politics, his acceptance of this trust, following a short but very creditable career in the city councils, is encouraging to the highest degree. He told me, as his message for the National Municipal League, that he took up this work because, in discussing with a politician the evils existing, the latter had said to him, "If you don't like the way we do things in councils, why don't you take hold and do them better?" Mr. McCormick answered that he could not be elected. The politician said, "If you mean that you will be a candidate for common council, I will see that you *are* elected." The politician kept his word. Mr. McCormick was elected. He turned a clear head, that had been useful when he was a Yale football captain, upon the city's affairs, and his honesty and sincerity were soon apparent. He has established in Harrisburg the principle that public franchises have a value, much to the benefit of the city treasury.

In closing, I want to point to a thing in our experience that I believe is nearly unique. Before the mayor took the oath of office, he called into consultation men in all walks of life who were with him in the desire for the city's real good, of whom he asked advice as to his appointments; and it is a fact that the office has been seeking the man in Harrisburg, notwithstanding the further ugly fact that hundreds of incapable men have been seeking the offices denied to them. Since his inauguration the mayor has kept up his consultation with the people. He wants them to talk to him freely. He tells them that he cannot do good to the city unless he is backed up by the citizens, whose servant he is.

The president of the Board of Public Works has also made a clear-cut and concise statement before the Board of Trade, outlining the plans just forming, asking criticisms and insisting upon the support due from every good citizen.

The effect of this changed attitude upon the city life has been magical. Crime has decreased; arrests are fewer; "speak-easies" and gambling places have closed up **Magical Effect.** voluntarily. Some of the same old policemen, who undoubtedly winked at law violation under the lax control of the past, are now efficient guardians of the public peace. Every honest citizen knows that he can go direct to the head of the government, if he has a grievance, and that his complaint will be considered on its merits, without regard to his politics. The city councils have in every way so far helped and fostered the movement for better and purer government, and we are very hopeful in Harrisburg. We believe "The Harrisburg Plan" is a good plan, and we will jealously guard it, and the courageous officials to whom its execution is entrusted, from partisan and selfish interference. Our Municipal League is alive to its responsibilities, our Board of Trade is enthusiastically seconding the movement, our newspapers are efficiently aiding at every point, our women are active through their Civic Club, and the whole city is awake to its new and enlarged twentieth-century opportunities.

The New York Situation

By DR. ALBERT SHAW, New York

Editor American Monthly Review of Reviews

The first requisite of a good municipal administration, in my opinion, is genuine public spirit. Honesty, intelligence, capacity, experience,—all these, of course, are much to be desired; but public spirit comes first of all, and without it all other qualifications must fail to produce anything but a low-toned, utterly disappointing conduct of municipal affairs. The citizen of high type, conspicuously possessed of public spirit, is unselfish and disinterested to a marked degree. He sees things from the standpoint of the welfare of the community as a whole. If without children of his own to educate, he is none the less capable of taking a deep interest in the problems of education, and of devoting himself assiduously to the cause of improved public facilities for the training of the children of the entire city or state. I have no intention to elaborate or to preach on this theme of public spirit, and I shall proceed bluntly to make my particular application.

Municipal government in New York in times past has not been a failure through dishonesty, through semi-criminal relations between the government and the dangerous classes, nor yet through badly devised charters, vexatious interference from Albany, partisan politics or official incompetence. It has been a failure simply through prevailing lack of public spirit. For a number of years, however, conditions have been steadily improving. There has been developing a local and municipal self-consciousness that recognizes the new metropolitan importance of New York, and that demands progress in all things of a public nature pertaining to the municipality. The groups and the individuals most responsive to this appeal of local pride and public spirit were able to unite last fall, and to wage

a successful campaign for a municipal government that should represent their general way of thinking, and their aims and aspirations for the greater and better New York.

The Tammany government, which had been carried on for four years from 1898 to 1902, had evidently a great number of faults in detail. Some of its ablest critics have shown that it was at some points dishonest, at many points extravagant, and at most points incompetent. I have, however, only one charge to bring against it, and that is that at all points it was lacking in public spirit. Tammany Hall,—whatever it may have been at moments in its long career,—has been, as we have known it, not a political party in the true sense, but an aggregation of interests and individuals banded together for strictly private purposes. Tammany has never had a single redeeming enthusiasm. Although it had usurped the local mechanism of the Democratic party for its own purposes, it never had a political idea or a political preference, even at the very climax of national agitation over party issues. Tammany has never been for protection, nor for free trade; never for free silver, nor the gold standard; never for imperialism, nor anti-imperialism. It has, of course, always been opposed to election reform and civil service reform; but from its point of view those were private and not public issues.

The opposition to Tammany has in the main been composed of men who had private trades and callings, and whose interest in municipal or governmental affairs grew out of Tammany Hall. of their sentiments, their opinions, their convictions,—as to matters of common interest and of a public nature. Tammany, on the other hand, has been made up of men whose private affairs were vitally associated with the success of "the organization," as they always call it, in its aim to secure control of the municipal administration. Thus, Tammany has never sought to win an election because it cared anything about good streets or bad ones, about a good water supply or a poor one, about educational facilities or the lack of them. Its motives, in short, have been always and entirely private ones. Its appeal for votes, of course, have often been to poor men's prejudices and to ignorant men's fears. But with all its leaders,—

greater and smaller, from the top of the organization to its ramifications in the election districts,—the motives have been spoils, offices, or purely personal and private advantage of some kind.

There are regions of the world where the sentiment of hatred is a public motive strong enough to hold men together for political action. There are times and places where fanaticism furnishes the impulse. But New York's Tammany is wholly without sentiment, whether of love or of hate,—has no zeal, no platform, no profession or creed of any kind. It represents union on the lower and baser motives. It is a compact of selfishness. It calls itself Democratic for the same reason that Philadelphia's Tammany calls itself Republican. Organizations of this type exist for the most practical private objects of their leaders, and of great numbers of their individual members. They are political, of course, in the sense that any organization having to do with government is political. But the one in New York is Democratic, as the one in Philadelphia is Republican, merely through force of certain historical circumstances. Tammany has been Democratic in state and national politics because it has found it desirable to control party machinery for use in municipal elections.

I am not here to present a mass of details. Ample facts and figures will appear in cold print at the appropriate time.

Tenacity of Purpose. I am here to say that the New York election last fall and the New York situation to-day are a magnificent vindication of every principle for which this League has stood. If the victory of the Citizens' Union and its allies could only have come in the first election after consolidation, in the fall of 1897,—with the four years' term for the Mayor, and a hundred great problems to be worked out,—the cause of good city government would have been a long ways advanced, not alone in New York but throughout the country. Yet the tenacity of purpose shown by the Citizens' Union leaders, the City Club, and kindred organizations after the defeat of 1897, bore an essential relation to the victory of 1901.

Happily, we have reached a point in New York where, with a large body of men under such leaders as Mr. Robert Fulton

Cutting, efforts for municipal progress are not spasmodic but continuous; and defeat is taken merely as part of the preliminary discipline that must surely bring victory in the end. It was not an overwhelming victory, unless as compared with former demonstrations of Tammany's strength. If between two and three per cent of the voters last fall had abandoned the Fusion ticket and supported that of Tammany, the balance would have been thrown into the other scale. But this was victory enough. It creates a situation demanding vigilance and devotion to the public welfare at every point. A reform government thus secured by a narrow margin of the popular vote can keep its prestige only by daily evidence of its humanity, its public spirit, its business-like character, its effective service to the community at all points.

And this is perfectly well understood by Mayor Low and his associates in office. They know that they are in a position where nothing can avail to give any measure of success to their administration except the cumulative proofs of their faithful devotion to the affairs of the municipality and the community. With this steadfast display of public spirit, they may make a thousand mistakes in matters of detail, and subject themselves to a perfect ferment of daily criticism, without essentially spoiling the success of their administration.

The new administration came into office on the first day of January at noon, I believe. It was in the evening of that day, if I mistake not, that a certain organization which had supported the reform ticket assembled and adopted resolutions censuring the commissioner at the head of one of the departments for not having removed certain Tammany employees. A good deal of the criticism hitherto passed upon the new administration as a whole has been about as appropriate and reasonable as were those resolutions censuring a department chief before he had been twelve hours in office.

In the highest sense the victory was won in the cause of municipal economy. The test of economy is not necessarily Tammany's Extravagance. a low tax rate. A better criterion of economy in a municipal administration would be a low death rate. There was just complaint against Mayor Van Wyck's administration for the rapid growth of the

municipal budget. But the community could have borne its burden of increased taxation, if statesmanship, efficiency and the principles of enlightened economy had been used in the application of the public income to the public welfare.

Tammany made new offices by the hundreds and thousands in order to give salaried places to its own henchmen, with no resulting benefit to the community. It was not that Tammany consciously and deliberately wasted the public resources through mismanagement and extravagance; but it had no standards of a public sort and no initiative. Its contracts were always characterized by jobbery and favoritism. It never carried out a bit of public work or improvement in a clean-cut, business-like way. It had spent scores of millions of dollars on paving in its history, without ever making a single piece of good roadway. It had lavished millions upon a street-cleaning department without ever really cleaning the streets. It had in the aggregate spent hundreds of millions while in office upon the school system without ever showing any intelligent interest in education, or any disposition to meet the pressing problems that confront school work in the great metropolis. If it cleaned the streets a little better after Colonel Waring's administration than before, it was merely because Tammany politicians saw the need of avoiding too much criticism in consequence of the improved standards of the public.

There was never evident in Tammany's government any motive or standard whatever in the conduct of the departments that relate to the public health and safety. It had no policy about the regulation of housing or the development of transit facilities in this most congested city on the face of the earth. It had no purposes or plans or theories regarding the training and the future civic and industrial status of the tenement house children of two million people of foreign parentage, although the whole future economic, industrial, social and moral condition of the great metropolis is wrapped up in that one problem of the treatment of the children of the tenement houses. It had no policy as to the development of the docks and the improvement of the commercial position of the great emporium of a continent.

I would not like to be thought to assert that all men con-

nected with Tammany in a prominent way, whether in office or out of it, were devoid of civic pride, or of a considerable desire and impulse to make the municipal government serve in a useful and enlightened way the interests of the community at large; but such men found themselves enmeshed in a system where in the very nature of the case private considerations had to be given first attention. The present administration, on the contrary, is so placed that it would weaken itself fatally by resorting to any of those methods of a personal or private nature which alone constitute Tammany's strength.

Accompanying the advent of the new administration was a considerable volume of important legislation relating to New

Charter Changes. York City and its affairs. First was a revision of the charter at the hands of a commission appointed by Governor Roosevelt. The com-

mission was made up of able and experienced men, cognizant of the peculiar local problems to be dealt with, acquainted with the world's experience in municipal government, and in general sympathy with the position and work of this League. One of its members, indeed, was a member of the League's committee which several years ago drafted the outlines of a general municipal charter for American cities. The recommendations of this charter commission were in the main adopted by the Legislature. I shall not enter into a technical presentation of the charter changes. The Mayor's appointing power is made more complete; the Board of Estimate and Apportionment retains the general financial authority, but its constituent character is so changed that the Mayor and his appointees are no longer in a majority; the double-chambered municipal assembly disappears in favor of a single municipal council. The main sections into which the metropolis is divided, known as boroughs, — namely, Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx, Queens and Richmond,—are given greatly enhanced importance in the matter of street improvements and other public works, and the elected borough presidents become officials of high standing and authority, being members of the board of estimate and apportionment. It is perhaps to be regretted that the Mayor's term has been reduced from four years to two.

Another important commission appointed by Governor Roosevelt, the results of the work of which were subsequently accepted by the Legislature and Governor Odell, was the Tenement House Commission, at the head of which was Mr. Robert W. DeForest, with whom other gentlemen of high qualifications and great public spirit were associated. Experience in the City Hall and in the various municipal departments at the beginning of the present year revealed the necessity for a good deal of additional legislation as to matters of detail, and Governor Odell and the recent legislature are praised by Mayor Low as having been disposed at almost, or quite, every point to enact such measures as the Mayor and his associates in the city government thought necessary.

The municipal civil service was promptly reorganized under Mr. George McAneny, so widely known for his long service as *The Civil Service.* secretary of the Civil Service Reform Association. Legal conditions affecting the civil ser-

vice have subjected Mayor Low's administration to difficulties of an unusual nature, which may be mentioned only in a general way. The law so carefully protects office-holders, both in their places and their emoluments, that the dismissal of supernumeraries and the proper scaling down of those salaries that had been shamelessly inflated for personal or political reasons by Tammany, can be accomplished only by tedious methods. Matters of this kind simply represent a few of the many difficulties that every thoughtful man with a capacity for foresight must have known Mayor Low's administration would have to encounter in the course of the day's work. Municipal expenditure bids fair to be held to strict compliance with business methods under the eyes of such officials as Dr. E. R. L. Gould, the new City Chamberlain.

There are those to whose minds the work of municipal government seems to center in the relation of the police department to the enforcement of certain statutes of the commonwealth relating to the manners and morals of the people. Certainly, these matters are interesting and important, and they have some very serious bearings upon most of the real problems of city administration; for the police force is a large body of men, selected and paid by the municipality, in touch with all

departments of the community's life, and liable to spread demoralization to other branches of local service if demoralized itself.

But I have long held that if the state chooses to maintain upon the statute books requirements contrary to the customs and preferences of large bodies of town dwellers, it ought to provide its own instruments for law enforcement. The ordinary policeman should maintain conditions of order and safety on the streets, and should do other things specifically required of him; but it is a mistake to expect him to assume the initiative in the enforcement of the state laws against the Sunday selling of liquor, or against gambling places and other illegal resorts, provided such law-infractions are not obviously and openly scandalous. In other words, it is both unfair to the force itself and detrimental to all the best interests of state and city administration, to put the police in a position where the practice of blackmail becomes almost inevitable. It is not a position of stable equilibrium. If New York **Excise Question.** does not make sweeping changes in existing laws, it must either create new instruments for law enforcement, or else it must expect a perpetual and a futile agitation over the question of police complicity and the sale of indulgences.

Mayor Low has placed at the head of the police system a highly trained, thoroughly upright, and widely experienced superintendent. Colonel Partridge, in short, is a good enough official to head the police department of any great city. Conceding an equal knowledge of local conditions, Colonel Partridge would make a conspicuous success of police administration in London, Paris, Berlin or Vienna. If he does not make a complete success in New York, it will be due to conditions for which he is not responsible. Whether or not the new District Attorney, Mr. Jerome, is exactly right in the excise legislation he has asked for, he is absolutely right in his perception that police blackmail and demoralization in New York are largely due to the impossible demand that the police force should compel a metropolitan community to shape its morals and manners in accordance with laws that express the sense of propriety of our New England forefathers.

There is another class of laws having to do with the rights and liberties of the humble man, woman or child in a great community; and for the enforcement of these it is not the police department, but the District Attorney's office that is responsible. Mr. Jerome's efficiency in his own field—quite apart from those matters which bring his name most conspicuously into the newspapers—is making life brighter every day for thousands of plain people who have learned where to look for justice and protection. But this League has already heard, I believe, from Mr. Philbin, regarding these phases of administration.

In spite of obstacles and difficulties that are inherent in the situation, and in spite of those that are abnormal and ought to be removed by law, the protective services in New York City—those under the charge of the Commissioner of Police, as well as those under the District Attorney, and various other agencies—are steadily improving the quality of their work every day. They have the inspiration of firm character and high motive at the top.

The health department, reorganized by Mayor Low on a basis of expert talent and administrative capacity, showed its appreciation of the true meaning of municipal economy by demanding a million dollars for the prompt reconstruction of the city's hospital facilities for the reception and treatment of infectious diseases. New York contains the most densely inhabited areas in the whole world. It is at the gateway of the continent. The whole country is interested in its keeping itself measurably free from epidemics of infectious disease. Its organization for health inspection, for disinfection, for prompt removal of cases of infectious illness from the tenement houses, and for humane and scientific treatment in epidemic hospitals, ought to be the very best in the world. Not to make this service good, in the face of existing scientific and administrative knowledge, would be wasteful as well as wicked.

It is too early in the life of this administration to run over the list of departments, to note the results accruing from new men and new motives at the head. It is, indeed, scarcely fair to the new administration to discuss it at all at this stage. It is enough to say that all along the line it is grappling with its

problem. A year hence we shall know much more of the tangible results of its work. With such a man as Mr. DeForest at the head of the new tenement-house department, we know that housing conditions will be improved in so far as conditions render it possible. With such a man as Mr. Homer Folks at the head of the charities department, we know that enlightenment, energy and humanity will characterize the expenditure of the two millions per annum, more or less, that the public care of the poor requires in New York.

In the street-cleaning department, we note already marked reductions of expenditure in some directions, and greatly increased expenditure in others—the increase, however, being for improved means that are at once justified by results. In like manner the administration of the water department already gives promise of highly increased efficiency.

As this League has been made well aware by former discussions of the topic, there are several important undertakings New York might prosecute to better advantage, were it not for the percentage limit upon municipal indebtedness. Its dock enterprises are a source of revenue to the municipal treasury, and its great rapid-transit system will never cost the taxpayer a penny directly or indirectly; yet since these undertakings involve nominally the use of the public credit, they add technically to the bonded debt, which they keep very close to the legal limit.

In the able management of such great undertakings as these that I have named—the development of the new transit system, the increase of docks and wharves, the building of bridges and other public works—New York is now as well off as any great city in the country, and, so far as I am aware, in any part of the world. In many departments of administration Berlin, Paris and other foreign cities have, through long years of comparatively high-class administration, developed a great body of trained and efficient subordinates whose work produces aggregate results that corresponding departments in New York cannot for some time hope to equal. But in so far as the higher officials are concerned, I should certainly be disposed now to class New York with the best and most efficiently gov-

erned of the great towns of the world. Certainly, in public spirit and in broad grasp of the problems to be dealt with, the Low administration needs no apologists in any company. It will, of course, require a number of years to bring the membership of the Council up to as high an average grade of ability as one finds in the municipal councils of foreign cities; but this will come in due time, and with it gradually will come about an increase in the importance of the functions of the Council, which will ultimately be entrusted with much of the business that is now done by the Legislature at Albany.

If the lines between national parties are ever again sharply drawn in municipal contests in the City of New York, it will, in my judgment, be by way of exception. As **Party Lines.** a rule, we shall have contests based upon local issues. Tammany will be compelled to be more respectable than heretofore, both in seeming and in fact. But for a good while to come, at least, Tammany is likely to represent nonpartisanship on the inferior plane. It will rely for victory upon a certain kinship of lower motives—the federation of men through the appeal to their fears, or their prejudices, or their cupidity. The Citizens' Union, or some organization of a kindred nature, will continue to furnish a rallying ground for men of zeal and enthusiasm and public spirit, who believe that the city government must increasingly play a great part in the modern application of science to the problems of common living, where men are massed together under urban conditions. If Tammany should win in the election of 1903, it could not wholly undo the good work of Mr. Low's administration, and it would have to adopt to a considerable extent the improved standard set in many of the departments. The public itself, meanwhile, would have been taught to expect more, and would be quite ready to put in office a reform administration in 1905.

There is no new formula to be found, nor is there any new kind of machinery to be invented, for doing away with bad city government and for securing a succession of reform victories. The thing will have to be done in the future as it was done last year. Disinterested men must bring together those of their general way of thinking. Personal ambitions must be laid

aside. There must be tolerance and compromise in the making of a ticket and a platform, and then there must be frank appeal to public opinion on the broad basis of democratic and majority rule. New York has now, in the main, secured honest elections; it has separated municipal from general elections; it has learned how to nominate candidates and conduct campaigns on real and vital local issues; it has evolved hopeful programs of a positive nature for which it has secured the recognition and sympathy of the press and of the best public opinion.

New York, therefore, is no longer to be classed with the cities where local government is hopelessly bad. Its future government will for a part of the time be, as at present, splendid in its disinterestedness and its high ideals; and for a part of the time it will have an indifferent sort of government, of comparatively low ideals. But I do not believe that it will ever revert again to the state out of which it has been brought. It will not return to its wallowing in the mire. All that reform needs, or should ask, is a certain leverage and a fair fighting chance. The cause of municipal progress in the metropolis of New York has now its firm foothold. Its future must be one of stern vigilance, of constant struggle, of unrelenting strife. It will win sometimes; it will lose sometimes; but, on the whole, it will make its fair advancement, and it will not permit the metropolis either to come short of its own salvation or to pollute the stream of the higher politics of the nation.

The Pittsburg Victory

By GEORGE W. GUTHRIE, Pittsburg

The Pittsburg "Ripper" legislation and its consequences clearly show the danger of the dependence of the cities of this country upon the state legislatures, and that the sooner that dependence is ended, as recommended by the National Municipal League, the better it will be for the good government of both cities and states.

As long, however, as a state retains to itself the regulation of the form and details of municipal administration, it is necessary that it should have the power to change them from time to time whenever the interest of the municipality requires it, and that in doing so it should not be hampered or obstructed by the interests of a city official whose term of office may be shortened by the change. But this power is an extreme incident of the sovereignty of the state, and if exercised for any other motive than the interest of the municipality itself, it is a breach of public trust and an act of tyranny.

It is not my intention, therefore, to enter on a discussion of the power of the Legislature of Pennsylvania to pass the so-called "Ripper legislation" of 1901, but simply to give a short statement of the political situation in the state and of the municipal conditions in the Cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny immediately preceding its passage, for without this explanation it is impossible to understand either what induced so many of the best citizens of those cities to accept it, or the political consequences which followed from it and the action of the state administration under it.

The cities of Pennsylvania had, under the Constitution of 1874, been classified by the Legislature into three classes. Prior to 1900, the City of Philadelphia was the only city of the first class, the Cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny were the only cities of the second class (the latter City having entered this

class after the census of 1890), and all the other cities of the state having a population of over 10,000 were grouped together as cities of the third class.

There was a complete code of laws for the government of cities of the third class, but not for those of the first and second classes.

The Cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny (being, as already stated, the only cities of the second class), were governed by

The Government of Pittsburg. a large number of special acts passed prior to the Constitution of 1874 which were applicable only to one or the other of those cities, and

by several acts passed since that date for the government of cities of the second class, the most important of which was an act approved June 14, 1887.

Generally speaking, almost all the municipal powers of these cities were conferred by the special acts, while the classified legislation prescribed the distribution of these powers among the various officers and departments.

Each city had a Mayor, Councils, three executive departments, a Collector of Delinquent Taxes, a City Attorney and five Assessors. The Mayor, to whom was given merely a limited power of veto over the ordinances of Councils and a nominal power of supervision over the executive departments of the city without any means to make it effective, was to be elected by the people to serve for three years.

The executive departments were entrusted with all the real executive power of the municipality. The heads of these departments, called Directors, were to be elected by Councils and had absolute power of appointment and removal over all the officers and employees attached to their respective departments.

The act creating these departments did not fix any term of office for their Directors, but Councils, by ordinance, provided for their election for a term of four years, the time of election being so fixed that it would always occur immediately preceding the expiration of the term of one-half the Select and all the Common Councilmen, so that instead of being chosen by Councilmen newly elected by the people, they were chosen by Councilmen whose terms of service would shortly expire, and would hold office over two elections of Councils.

The collector of delinquent taxes (the most lucrative office in the city), the city attorney and the city assessors were also elected by councils.

The Councils consisted of two bodies, one called Select and the other Common Council. The former body consisted of one Select Councilman from each ward, elected for four years, and the latter of at least one Common Councilman from each ward, with an additional one for each additional ratio, or three-fifths of a ratio, of resident taxpayers as shown by the assessment, elected for two years.

According to the decennial census of 1900 the population of the City of Pittsburg was a little over 321,000, yet under the apportionment as above provided, wards having a population of only 91,984, less than one-third of the total population of the city, elected a majority of Councilmen in joint session, so that the representatives of considerably less than one-third of the population had the power to elect the heads of the executive departments, who controlled the real executive power of the city, the Collector of Delinquent Taxes, the City Attorney and the City Assessors, while the Mayor, who was elected directly by the people themselves, was little, if anything, more than a figurehead.

The administration in Pittsburg was extravagant; franchises of great value were given away in perpetuity whenever
Need for Reform. asked for by the friends of the "organization" (as the "city ring" called itself) without any compensation to the City; vice was protected by the police; contracts were manipulated in the interest of favored contractors, and political patronage was used to corrupt elections and to promote the business and political interests of those in power.

When the act of 1887 was enacted by which this form of government was imposed on the City of Pittsburg (which was the only city of the second class at the time), there was a strong protest from the people, which was renewed year after year; and when they found that the administration of affairs of the City which resulted was as vicious as they had feared it would be, every legal remedy which the law gave them was resorted to for relief.

Under the law as it then stood, charges of fraudulent and improper conduct against city officers were tried by a committee of Councils, the body by which the officials were chosen, and were ignored, no matter what evidence was produced in support of them.

Owing to the unfair apportionment of Councils, nothing but a political revolution would enable the opposition to the "organization" to secure a majority in those bodies.

In 1896, the Municipal League and the Democratic party united in an effort to elect a Mayor, City Controller and City Treasurer; but by the corrupt use of public patronage and by frauds at the polls, the "organization" was enabled to defeat them. It was charged, and generally believed, that this result was reached by actual fraud in the counting of the ballots, and every effort possible was made to have the courts open the ballot-boxes and order a recount; but the court held that the law did not give it the power, and refused to do so. Moreover, the election laws provided for the numbering of ballots at all elections; this destroyed the secrecy of elections, and it was the general belief that the "organization" could and did ascertain how citizens voted, and in view of its great powers of oppression many persons were intimidated and feared to oppose it.

The result of all this was that the people became convinced that their only hope of relief was either in the Legislature or in a break within the "organization."

At almost every session of the Legislature demand was made for such change in the law as would restore to the majority the power to govern the City, but until the session of 1901, the influence of the City administration was sufficient to defeat every measure introduced for that purpose.

In February, 1899, a Mayor was elected in the City of Pittsburgh to serve for three years from the first Monday of April following. In December, 1899, the heads of the three departments, Public Works, Public Safety and Public Charity, were chosen by Councils to serve for four years from the first Monday of February following.

For some time prior to this, one of the principal causes of complaint against the administration of the Department of

Public Works was that the specifications for street-paving were such as to seriously limit, if not to exclude, competition in the letting of contracts, the result being that they were let to favored contractors at prices far in excess of what might have been realized with open competition, thereby imposing an unjust burden on the city and the property owners.

In view of these continued complaints, the Director of the Department of Public Works (as the head of that department was called), shortly after the beginning of his new term, changed the specifications for street-paving in such a manner as to promote competition and deprive the favored contractors of the advantages which they had enjoyed for so many years. Efforts were made by those most affected by the change to induce the director to return to the former specifications, but without success. Councils then, without any charges being filed, removed the refractory Director and elected a new one, who immediately restored the old specifications.

The term of office having been fixed by Councils, their power to change it was unquestionable, and while it was arbitrarily exercised there was no legal way to restrain it; but the arbitrary manner in which the removal was made, and the action of the new Director in returning to the old specifications for street-paving illustrated the inherent defects of the form of government in a striking manner and served to intensify the dissatisfaction of the people with it and with the conduct of those in power under it.

About this time, the result of the census of 1900 disclosed the fact that the City of Scranton had passed from the class of

A Complicated Situation. cities of the third class to that of the second class. This made some legislation for the government of cities of the second class absolutely necessary, because the City of Scranton had lost the powers which had been conferred on it as a city of the third class, and, as already stated, the laws governing cities of the second class did not give complete power, but distributed that which had been previously granted. Knowing that a new law would have to be enacted, the people became more urgent in their demands to the Legislature for a better form of government for the city.

The political situation in the state very much complicated matters.

Senator M. S. Quay was a candidate for reëlection to the United States Senate. He was supported by the state administration and by those Republicans who called themselves "Stalwarts," and was opposed by the Democrats and the Republicans who called themselves "Insurgents."

The city administration of Pittsburg and the Republican city "organization" were opposed to Senator Quay, and the city administration of Allegheny and the Republican city "organization" of that city were supporters of the state administration and Senator Quay. The State Legislature was so evenly divided that a few votes would control any political legislation.

The good government forces were united in their demand that the legislation to be passed should put the control of the three cities in the hands of the people by giving the executive power to the officers directly elected by them.

Two objections were made to this demand.

First: Such legislation, if made immediately applicable to all cities of the second class, would give to the Mayors of Pittsburg and Allegheny, then in office, powers which they were not elected to exercise, and yet, under the constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court, it could not be made applicable to one city of a class and not to all.

Second: Such legislation would increase the power of the "Insurgents" in Pittsburg, and was therefore objectionable to the "Stalwarts" and the state administration, and, on the other hand, it was also objectionable to the leaders of the Pittsburg "organization" themselves because it would destroy the political power of Councils, which bodies they felt confident they could control, while experience had shown that at a general election they were sometimes defeated.

The Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburg had for years advocated a better form of government for the City. It was requested by the representatives of the "Stalwarts" to assist in the preparation of a bill for the government of cities of the second class; and while it was given to understand that any bill agreed upon by its representatives and the representatives

Chamber of
Commerce
Co-operation.

of the "Stalwarts" would receive the support of the state administration and the "Stalwarts," they (the state administration and the "Stalwarts") would insist upon "ripping out" the present Mayors, giving to the Governor the power to remove and appoint new ones at his pleasure until April, 1903, and that the first election to that office by the people would not take place until February of that year.

A very crude bill for the government of cities of the second class had been introduced in the House of Representatives some time before, passed second reading and been referred to a committee for amendment, and a conference was arranged between attorneys representing the "Stalwarts" and the Chamber of Commerce.

A bill was prepared by these attorneys which gave to the people of Pittsburg the reforms for which they had been contending for many years. It was sent to Harrisburg upon the express pledge that it should receive the full support of the state administration and the "Stalwarts," but when it was reported from the committee it was discovered that some person had altered it in several important particulars, the most objectionable changes being to preserve the delinquent Tax Collector, and perpetuate Councils in its old form. Upon learning of this the Chamber of Commerce demanded that the bill should be referred back to the committee and restored to the form agreed upon; its representatives were informed, however, that at that stage of the proceedings this could not be done; but they were promised that if the bill passed an amendment would be introduced to restore it to the form agreed upon and should receive the same support as the bill itself.

The bill was passed in the form reported by the committee, but instead of an amendment to restore it to the form agreed upon, amendments were introduced and passed which struck out many of the reforms demanded by the Chamber.

It would occupy too much time to give a full account of all the changes introduced by this act, and which in its original form in many particulars very closely followed the form recommended by this League. As we are at present considering the "Ripper" feature of the bill, it is sufficient for our purpose to say that the act

The

"Ripper" Bill.

abolished the office of Mayor and created that of Recorder, with power to appoint all the administrative officers of the city, including not only all those formerly chosen by Councils, but also the City Treasurer, who had formerly been elected by the people. It provided that at the municipal election to be held in February, 1903, a Recorder should be elected to serve for three years from the first Monday of April thereafter, and that in the meantime the Governor should have power to appoint and remove from the office at pleasure. The only city officer other than the Recorder to be elected by the people was the City Controller. The then city controller was to be permitted to serve out his term, and the first election for a City Controller was to be at the municipal election in February, 1902.

The constitutionality of the act was contested by its opponents, but it was sustained by the Supreme Court. Immediately after this decision it became apparent to the public that negotiations of some kind were being carried on between the Governor and the Pittsburg "organization." In a short time the Governor appointed A. M. Brown, Esq., Recorder, and the people who had become alarmed and uneasy, were assured that he was appointed without any conditions or restrictions upon the exercise of the powers conferred upon him, and that he was at liberty to act in the interest of good government and to remedy the evils of which they had complained.

Mr. Brown, upon taking office, removed the new Director of the Department of Public Works and restored the old one, but made no other radical changes. In a short time, however, he became satisfied that the old officials would not coöperate with him, and accordingly he removed the heads of the other departments, and began a thorough reorganization of the city administration.

At this time the state election was coming on, and, although communications were immediately opened between the leaders of the old "organization" and the Governor, nothing was done to interfere with Mr. Brown.

Almost immediately after the election, however, Mr. Brown was removed by the Governor, and the former head of the Department of Public Safety appointed in his place, with the result that the old "organization" was reinstated in full con-

trol of the City, with greater power than it ever had before, and with the prospect that it would be left undisturbed to use its power to corrupt and control the election which was to take place in 1903.

The result, therefore, of the "Ripper," so far as the City of Pittsburg was concerned, was that the former Mayor, to whom people objected less than to any other of the "organization" officers, was removed; but with this change, the "organization" itself, which they had been so long fighting, and to get rid of which they had consented to the passage of that measure, was in full control.

What consideration was given for this action the public did not know, but they were convinced that one of the considerations was that the city "organization" should thereafter support the state administration in state affairs.

It is impossible to give adequate expression to the disappointment and indignation of the people of Pittsburg.

There had been disagreement over this measure among the advocates of reform. Some of the best citizens had agreed to the demands of the state administration that the Governor should be given power over the chief executive of their city until 1903, believing that thereby the power of the city "organization" would be broken, and the people would have a better chance for a free and honest election when the time had at length arrived; many more, who objected to such an extreme measure, and who would have consented to the "ripping out" of the Mayor rather than that either he should be given greater powers, or that the desired reforms should be postponed until the expiration of his term,—provided a new election was immediately ordered,—bitterly resented the invasion of the right of self-government involved in giving the Governor absolute and unrestricted power over the city for nearly two years; and still others objected to any "ripping" whatever, thinking that it was an extreme exercise of power and would make a dangerous precedent for future legislation, and that the wise and conservative course was to pass a proper law and leave to the people the selection of their officers at the proper time.

They all, however, united in bitter denunciation of the Governor, who had betrayed their confidence and used the power with which he had been entrusted, not for the good of the city, but to secure a political bargain for the advantage of himself and his friends, and this feeling was shared by many who were themselves supporters of the "Stalwart organization" in the state, but could not defend or forgive such conduct.

An election was to take place upon the 18th of February, 1902, for City Controller (the Recorder and Controller being the only city officers to be elected by the people under the new law), one-half of Select Council of 1902. and the whole of Common Council, and the

people set themselves to work to rescue these departments of their city from the hands of the "organization," and at the same time show their condemnation of those who had robbed them of their liberties and traded them off as the consideration of a corrupt political bargain. They knew that the great struggle would have to be made in 1903, when the election for Recorder was to take place, but they felt that if in the meantime they could capture from the "organization" the auditing and accounting departments of the city, and, if not the whole, still a substantial part of Councils, they could, to some extent, weaken the power and check the schemes of the "organization" and be in better position for the final struggle.

It was evident that the contest would be a bitter one; it had to be made against an organization entrenched in power, having the prestige of continual and almost uninterrupted successes, and supported by the City Recorder with the absolute power of appointment and removal of several thousand city employees, and by the county and state administration and the federal office-holders in the city, and victory could only be achieved by an united effort of all citizens who considered liberty and honest government the paramount questions.

A plan for a fusion campaign was inaugurated between the Democratic party and an independent organization called the Citizens' party.

The Democratic party immediately adopted a rule excluding from its primaries, its conventions and its committees all persons holding any employment under the city, county or state

administrations, and it nominated for Controller a Democrat whose reputation for honesty and capacity was above question. This nomination was endorsed by the Citizens' party.

The exclusion of persons holding employment under the "organization" from official position in the Democratic party during the campaign was objected to by some **The Citizens' Party.** because it might be unjust to some Democrats who, while they had been obliged by their necessities to accept such employment, had nevertheless always been faithful to their party, but the temper of the people was such that they were unwilling to leave the charge of the campaign to any one who could be even suspected of being subject to "ring" influence; they demanded that all men should be measured by the one test of absolute opposition to the "ring."

The Democratic and Citizens' parties also agreed to unite in the selection of candidates for Councils and other ward officers.

The Citizens' party, being a new organization, had no difficulty in the selection of its candidates, as under the law they were placed upon the official ballot by nomination papers. The Democratic party, however, had to nominate either by primaries or by conventions, and the "organization" attempted to pursue the same practice that it had followed for many years, of either capturing or breaking them up.

In one ward the "organization" succeeded in capturing the convention and securing an endorsement of their candidate for **Abortive Efforts at Fraud.** Select Council; in two other wards it failed to capture the meetings, but such confusion and disorder was produced that the court refused to permit the names of the candidates selected to be put upon the official ballot; in all other wards the integrity of the party was maintained and the candidates agreed upon by the two parties were nominated.

The "organization" then attacked the form of the official ballot, claiming that under the law the Citizens' party was not entitled to a column, and that the name of a candidate could not appear more than once upon the ballot; the purpose of this being to compel all those desiring to vote the reform ticket to

do so by voting as Democrats, hoping thereby to deter independent Republicans from doing so.

In this the "organization" was also defeated, the court holding that the Democratic and the Citizens' party were both entitled to columns, and that the law did not prevent the same name appearing in both columns. These preliminary victories greatly encouraged the people.

The next struggle was over the numbering of the ballots. The law had made it the duty of the election officers to put upon each ballot a number corresponding to the number attached to the name of the voter on the voters' check-list which was kept during the election, and, while the law also prohibited election officers from disclosing how a citizen had voted, the public belief was that the "organization" could and did get access to the ballots and ascertain how any citizen had voted when for any reason the knowledge was desired. This, as already explained, had been for years a cause of intimidation to people who for any reason feared the ill will of the "organization" and its members.

A constitutional amendment, however, had been adopted at the election in 1901, the operation and effect of which was to abolish the numbering of ballots thereafter. The attention of the officers whose duty it was to print the official ballot was called to this amendment; but notwithstanding it they announced their determination to print the ballots so that they could be numbered, and only abandoned that purpose when confronted with a bill in equity for an injunction to restrain them.

Under the Constitution of Pennsylvania, only those citizens who had within two years before the election paid a city or county tax, assessed at least two months and paid at least one month before the election, had the right to vote.

In order to enable non-property holders to qualify themselves to vote, there had been imposed an occupation, sometimes called a poll, tax which, in the case of workingmen and laborers, ranges from 30 to 50 cents. This tax is payable to the County Treasurer from the first of May till the last of August of the year in which it is assessed, but after the latter date it can only be paid to a collector of delinquent taxes, at his office

in the court-house. The amount of the tax is very small, but the payment of it is a great burden on the taxpayer, for he must lose half a day at least, and often a whole day, to pay it, and when there is any dispute, as there often is, or any irregularity in the assessment or the transfer of it from one book to another, it requires the assistance of counsel to get it accomplished.

Acting in pursuance of a practice which had been adopted under an act passed in 1897, all parties sent canvassers throughout the city to secure from their supporters orders authorizing the person named in the order to pay their taxes and obtain their receipts for them. The orders given to the Citizens' and Democratic parties, together with the amount of the taxes, were filed in the proper time with the proper officers; before accepting them, the persons in whose names the orders were made out were required to make an affidavit to the signatures, a requirement which had never before been made; but when this was done the officers accepted the money and promised to issue receipts as soon as they could be made out. Daily demand was made for the receipts, but only a few were delivered each day; this kept up until a few days before the election, when, at the instance of the "organization," a bill in equity was filed for an injunction to restrain the issue and delivery of any more, it being alleged that the practice was not sanctioned by the law.

At the hearing of the bill it was developed that although the officials had assigned as a reason for the non-delivery of the receipts earlier that they had not had time to make them out, many of them had, in fact, been made out and signed, and that over six thousand receipts had been issued and delivered to the "organization" itself, which was now contending that the doing so was illegal.

The Citizens' and Democratic parties, through their attorneys, offered to return the receipts already delivered to them and to waive their demand for the receipts to which they were entitled if the "organization" would return and have canceled the six thousand receipts which had been delivered to it, but this offer was rejected; the case was then argued and the injunction refused. But even after this, the county officials

refused to issue the receipts until threatened with arrest and prosecution for conspiracy to deprive citizens of their right to vote, when they yielded and issued the receipts.

Although these controversies absorbed a great deal of the time of those in charge of the campaign, the campaign itself was being carried on with great vigor, public meetings being held nightly in different parts of the city, and local committees being organized to act in conjunction with the central committees.

As election day approached, it became apparent that the people were against the "organization," and that the only danger of defeat was in the possibility of gross frauds at the election. Under the loose system of registration which prevails in Pennsylvania, the registry lists in Pittsburg contained from eighteen to twenty thousand fictitious names, affording ample opportunity for repeating and ballot-box stuffing, with very little danger of detection and punishment, and it was impossible, in the time allowed, to do anything efficient in the way of purging the lists.

The people, however, were determined to have an honest election, no matter what the cost, if vigilance on their part

Emphatic could accomplish it. Detectives were employed
Defeat to watch for the appearance of repeaters and to
of the Ring. guard the ballot-boxes to prevent them being
stuffed the night before the election. Six
watchers were employed for each polling place, to stay there
from the opening to the closing of the polls, and overseers
were appointed under our constitutional provision with power
"to supervise the proceedings of election officers and to make
report to the court as may be required," with instructions,
among other things, to examine each ballot-box and see that
it was empty before any votes were received.

The vote polled was the largest ever polled in the city of Pittsburg and the victory for good government exceeded the hopes of the most enthusiastic reformer. The "organization" was able to poll the largest vote it had ever received; so that its defeat was not due to any falling off of its vote, but to the fact that the people who had for many years refrained from voting because they despaired of being able to accomplish anything, came out and voted. The majority of the reform can-

didate for Controller was over eight thousand. The Reformers also elected a large majority of Common Councils, and fourteen out of nineteen candidates for Select Council; but, because of the large majority of the hold-overs who belonged to the "organization," they failed to secure a majority in that body.

The story is not complete without an account of the organization of the new Councils.

The act regulating the organization of Councils provides that all standing committees (except those which relate to the affairs of the separate bodies themselves) shall be joint committees, to be appointed by the Presidents of both bodies; the Common Council, however, always to have a clear majority on all committees.

The Select Council has always been a stronghold of the "organization" (a majority of it being elected from wards having less than one-fourth of the total population of the city), and in order to overcome

Organization of Councils. the provision of the law which gave Common Councils a majority on all committees, an ordinance had been passed by Councils which directed that the Chairman of the Committee on Corporations, and of some other committees designated in the ordinance, should always be members of Select Council, and that these committees should always report to that body.

In appointing the members of the committees, the chairman of which, under the ordinance referred to, were to be members of select council, the President of Select Council appointed only "organization" men, supposing that the ordinance would be acquiesced in and that thereby "organization" men would have to be made chairmen of these committees.

This caused great dissatisfaction, because one of the great complaints of the citizens during the campaign had been the action of the "organization" in relation to corporation matters. The granting to favored corporations of franchises in perpetuity, without compensation to the city, being one of the things against which every reform candidate for council was pledged, and moreover, it was expressly charged in the public press that there was a combine in Select Council for "holding up" corporation matters.

The Reformers accordingly determined to disregard the ordinance referred to. Its illegality was apparent. In the first place, it was an attempt by one Council to impose a rule of procedure upon a subsequent body in the transaction of its legislative functions; in the second place, its effect was to defeat the power of the majority which the law expressly gave to Common Councils on the committees; and finally, the requirement that the committee should report to the body of which the chairman was a member, even though the matter originated in and was referred to the committee from the other body, destroyed the equality of the two bodies and subordinated one to the other in these matters.

The Reformers, therefore, being convinced that the ordinance was invalid and that their duty to the public required them to use all their lawful authority to promote the ends demanded by the people and to which they were pledged, elected their own chairman in the committees in which they had a majority, and though the "organization" still has control of Select Council, the Reformers can force an open and public consideration of all measures and prevent them being privately smothered in committee.

Publicity being thus secured, it is hoped to hamper the making of corrupt deals, for which secrecy is necessary; and even if the reforms desired cannot be passed, those who desire to defeat them must do so openly and bear the responsibility of their actions.

The Philadelphia Situation

By CHARLES RICHARDSON, Philadelphia

Vice-President of the National Municipal League and of the
Philadelphia Municipal League

The people of Philadelphia have been so frequently criticised for their submission to an unscrupulous despotism that it may be of interest to describe some of the conditions which explain, although they cannot justify, the conduct of the voters in that much-abused City.

In the first place, it may be said that the controlling despotism, strong as it is, is nevertheless a despotism tempered by a fear of revolution; it is rapacious, but not ruinous; it is determined to have the golden eggs as fast as they can be laid, but it is too shrewd to do anything which may seem likely to seriously interfere with the future productiveness and docility of the goose. Like the cook who declared that she made it a rule to give her master and mistress some of almost everything that she had to eat in the kitchen, the public servants in Philadelphia make it a rule to give the people a subway or something else that is especially wanted, whenever they make a particularly heavy raid on the City's funds or franchises. They have found this method very effective in keeping the citizens quiet, although in fixing their terms the protests of the people sometimes oblige them to follow the example of the southern darkey who tried to sell a pair of chickens to his master for fifty cents, and when his master said "Sam, I believe you have just stolen those chickens out of my hen-house," the old negro replied, "Well, massa, we'll say twenty-five cents instead of fifty."

In a recent report of the grand jury in one of our western cities it was stated that some of the local lawmakers were men in whom "no trace of mentality or morality could be

found." Nothing quite so bad as this can be said of the rulers of Philadelphia, for their liberality and adroitness in dividing the public moneys with the people to whom those moneys belong, show that they cannot be accused of any lack of mentality. Their policy of permitting those who are robbed to share in the proceeds of most of the robberies, has resulted in conditions which can be compared favorably in some respects with those which exist in other cities. If such a comparison is made, it will be seen that there is some excuse for the large number of Philadelphians who have as yet failed to realize that there is an urgent necessity for them to give time, labor and money, and to sacrifice many social and business interests in a probably unsuccessful effort to displace their present masters.

Greater New York, Chicago and Philadelphia are the only Cities of the United States containing more than a million inhabitants, and among these Philadelphia is, as the schoolboy said of his place in a class of three, next but one to the head. The next in size are St. Louis, Boston and Baltimore, each having between 500,000 and 700,000. Of these six cities Philadelphia is only exceeded by New York and Chicago in area and annual revenue, in miles of streets, street railways, water-mains and sewers, and in the number of its schools and pupils. It has more miles of asphalt-paved streets than any of the other five cities, and it is only surpassed by Greater New York in the area of its parks, the value of its real estate, the number of its street lights, and its miles of streets paved with granite or Belgian blocks. Its well-earned title of the "City of Homes" is based upon the fact that the proportion of its dwelling-houses to the whole number of inhabitants is as 1 to 5. The death rate is lower than it is in New York, Boston or Baltimore, and is likely to be less in the near future, when the City is to have a supply of more than three hundred million gallons per day of pure filtered water. While the City's dealings with its street railway companies have been the reverse of ideal, it has obtained from them upwards of \$12,000,000 worth of improved street-paving, besides some small annual taxes and car licenses, and it is still in a position to insist upon much better terms

whenever it can secure the right kind of government to act for it. It is not too much to say that there are very few cities which surpass Philadelphia in manufactures, railroad facilities, stores and modern office buildings, in churches, charities, handsome residences and places of amusement, in the reasonableness of taxation, house rent and living expenses, in security for persons and property, or in the general feeling of its inhabitants that there is no other large city in which they could be more comfortable and contented.

Without attempting to refer to all the blessings enjoyed by the residents of Philadelphia, it is safe to say that much of the apathy and submissiveness displayed by a majority of the voters on election days is due to a feeling that their city government is not so intolerable as to make it necessary for them to try to change it. There is, however, a large and increasing minority who cherish higher civic ideals, and have acquired a deeper insight into existing conditions. The concessions wrung from reluctant bosses and the prevention of many evils in the past must be ascribed in great measure to the direct action or to the indirect influence of this minority, and it is upon its growth in numbers and activity that hopes for any great improvement in the character of the municipal government must necessarily be based. A brief reference to some of the evils to be remedied and some of the obstacles to be overcome, will serve to show that it may well be doubted whether there is any other city in which reforms are at once so much needed and so difficult to achieve.

That which is at once the greatest evil and the greatest promoter and supporter of other evils in Philadelphia, is the **Submissiveness of Philadelphia**. almost unlimited submission of the people to a political machine which is itself controlled by a small ring or gang of leaders who direct and use it for purely selfish or partisan purposes. The state is controlled by a similar machine belonging to the same party, and the bosses of these two machines are either the same persons or men of like character and objects, so that they are generally ready to work together, or to purchase the politicians of the opposite party, whenever such action will facilitate their regular business of ruling and fleec-

ing the public. When the city ring wants new laws, or ripper bills, or charters for franchise companies, the state ring gives the necessary directions to the Legislature and the Governor. When a Governor or Members of the Legislature or a United States Senator are to be chosen, the state ring can usually count upon the aid of the city ring and its representatives at Harrisburg. The Mayor, the City Councils, the Governor and the Legislature, are all so closely allied and so largely influenced by the same elements, that asking either for protection against the others, is almost like asking the left hand of a burglar to keep his right hand from stealing your pocketbook. Many of the judges are men of courage and considerable independence, but it is a serious thing for a public man to sacrifice his political future by antagonizing the powers that be. In a community where a political party is regarded somewhat as the Israelites regarded the Golden Calf, it is impossible to entirely exclude its influence from either the bench or the jury-box, and as the laws are exceedingly defective and the ordinary delays and difficulties of legal proceedings are multiplied in political cases, an appeal to court is apt to result in a belief that "law is the perfection of human reason," for preventing the punishment of official criminals.

The Philadelphia machine has probably no equal as a permanent organization for the continuous looting of a great city, and for reducing a vigorous and intelligent community to the condition of mercenaries or henchmen ever ready to obey the orders, applaud the conduct and solicit the favor of those who rule and rob them. Its malign and demoralizing influence extends to every class, to every home and to every place of business. Among the ten thousand public employees there are a few experts who can venture to be politically inactive, because their special knowledge and skill are essential for the work of their respective departments. But with rare exceptions it has been made plain to every employee, and to every one who is dependent on him or can be persuaded or influenced by him, that he will lose his place if he should fail to contribute his share of money and votes for the machine. Even the women who teach in the public schools are com-

Completeness of the Machine.

elled in the same way to render similar services. The law requires that the employees of the city shall be appointed in accordance with the merit system, but there are no adequate provisions for the enforcement of this requirement, and the local administration has converted it into a secret and worse than useless farce. The office-holders and office-seekers have been taught to believe that their first duty is to serve, obey and submit to the machine which appoints, promotes or dismisses them at its pleasure. Many, if not most of them, have been brought to believe that it would be ungrateful and dishonorable as well as dangerous and unprofitable, for them to allow their obedience and submission to the machine to be interfered with by any other consideration whatever. One of the greatest difficulties in securing the necessary information and testimony for the prosecution of office-holding criminals in Philadelphia is this perverted idea of the public servants that they must always be loyal, as they call it, to the machine, instead of being loyal to the law or to moral principles or to the community which pays their salaries.

But, while the public employees may be regarded as the regular army of the machine, it has also at its command a vast number of auxiliaries who are interested as principals or as employees of contractors, corporations and business firms holding franchises or doing work for or furnishing supplies to the city, and dependent on it for the extension of favors and special privileges of various kinds. When the powers of a municipal government can be used without restraint to promote the interest of those who support it, and to injure or to ostracize and boycott all who oppose it, it is hard to put any limits on its influence. The fear of it pervades all classes, from the day-laborer and his family dependent on his keeping his job, to the richest and most prominent citizens. Men of the highest business and professional standing are afraid to condemn the machine in public, although many of them try to compromise with their own self-respect by denouncing it in private or sending secret contributions to some reform organization. The manner in which the law is made conveniently blind for wrongdoers who render political services, and Argus-eyed for those who do not, is too familiar to require comment.

The limits of this paper will only permit a brief allusion to a few of the many ways in which the almost omnipotent power of the machine is used to swell its own revenues or to assist its supporters in deceiving, intimidating and plundering the people. **Revenues of the Machine.** Of course the public employees are more numerous and more liberally paid than they should be, and high prices are constantly given for poor work. The methods which the machine uses for evading, while professing to encourage, competitive bids for work and materials, are models of artistic simplicity. In some cases the specifications call for materials of which a favored contractor has a monopoly. In others some of the conditions are made so difficult that if any men who regard a contract as binding are foolish enough to bid, they must necessarily name much higher figures than the man who has no intention of complying with all the conditions, and knows that he will not be required to do so. The obvious effect of these methods is to deter honorable men from submitting bids, and to prevent the people from obtaining good work at fair prices.

Some of the worst scandals in the history of the machine have been in relation to its grants of special privileges to gas and street railway companies, and its various schemes, as yet happily unsuccessful, for surrendering the city's water-works to private speculators. The grants to the street railway companies have no time limits, and their clear value, after allowing for all their taxes and expenses and for all payments and paving obligations required by the city, can only be approximated. One hundred million dollars would, however, be a low estimate of what has been practically thrown away in this connection, and the worst feature of these grants is not the loss of this great sum nor the robbing of future generations, but it is the wholesale conversion of good citizens into supporters of bad municipal government. The number of persons interested in the stocks and securities of corporations having special privileges in Philadelphia, or in financial institutions accepting such stocks and securities for investment or as collateral, is very large. The fact that in 1895 the street railway companies alone had about 25,000 stockholders may give some idea of the mul-

titude of persons who have a strong pecuniary inducement for opposing every effort to secure a government which might diminish the gains of the corporations, by insisting upon better services and more reasonable terms for the public.

Another unfortunate result of giving the control of great public services to private corporations is that it leaves the city government so little power to be of use, that the people become more and more indifferent to it. It is natural that they should decline to bother about getting the doors shut when they believe that the thieves have not left so much as a colt in the stables.

In speaking of even a few of the most prominent features of Philadelphia politics, it would hardly do to omit all allusion to the immense frauds which are customary at its elections. It should be said, however, in this connection that after many years of earnest effort the constitution of the state has been amended so that it is now possible for the legislature to pass a decent registration law, and there is some reason to hope that this will be done next winter. Such a law will be a great help in preventing various kinds of fraud, although it will make no change in the ballot laws, which have been so contrived as to favor the ringsters and hamper independents in many ways. The primary condition that has made it possible for the spoils system and for a political machine to attain to such an extreme development and to become so nearly omnipotent, has been an excess of party zeal in the city and state, or rather a general feeling that the advantages to be gained by the success of a national party were so much more important than anything that a city government can do, that nothing contrary to the interests and tickets of the former should be supported at the polls. The people seem to have lost sight of the fact that if it is necessary to have a national party, its strength and permanence must depend upon its purity and honesty as well as upon its intelligence, and these qualities must in turn depend upon the character of the men who control the local primaries and elections. If they are what they ought to be, the delegates and conventions, and the candidates and leaders will be all right. But if they are venal and corrupt the whole organization will

gradually lose its power and influence and become intolerable to the people. When the roots are decayed or devoured by parasites, the tree must die.

In preparing this paper it has seemed desirable to touch only upon some of the most salient features of the situation in Philadelphia, but perhaps enough has been said to prove that there is probably no other city in the United States where there is so much need of men who belong to the highest type of American citizenship, men who can neither be fooled nor frightened, men of tireless energy and unselfish devotion to the public good, men who only regard defeat as a postponement of final victory, and men whose faith in the cause they advocate is so strong that they cannot doubt its ultimate triumph, even in the city of Philadelphia.

The Boston Situation

By E. H. CLEMENT

Editor of the "Boston Transcript"

The general situation in Boston street railway affairs is of an interest quite unusual. The decision is impending of a long and significant and representative contest. The street railways of the city have been merged into a single great corporation. But the municipality retains as yet the effective control that inheres in the possession of an indispensable link—in fact, the keystone—of the system, the subway through the heart of the city. The merger of the former city and suburban companies was crowned by the acquisition at a nominal price, by Mr. Morgan and local associates, of a then apparently valueless and unworkable charter for an elevated railway. This charter, bought for a song because handicapped with a queer mechanical system and provisions for the protection of public rights and abutting property making it impossible to construct it where real estate has great value, was found to "wear yet a precious jewel in his head" in the irrevocability of locations once given it, under a provision which escaped due attention in the framing of the law in the midnight of the last day of a session of the Legislature. This \$200,000 charter, in the hands of Mr. Morgan's Boston syndicate, in a short time acquired through a lease the consolidated roads and their franchises, and from their surplus earnings received dividends at the rate of 6 per cent on \$10,000,000 before a train had been run over its elevated structure. But this elevated railroad, with its unique tenure in perpetuity, consists of two widely sundered ends, without any connecting middle part. It now employs the leased municipal subway for this connection, but that was never built for trains of large passenger cars: it was designed only for street cars, and its use by the elevated is a very uncomfortable makeshift, disliked by both railroad and public.

Rapidly outgrown even by its proper uses, the subway has been made intolerable by the elevated trains crowding in there. So the public demands a new subway. The elevated sees in that necessity its **Need of a New Subway.** opportunity to secure the much-desired connection between its hitherto disjoined sections, and it is naturally seeking a connection that shall carry with it the permanency of tenure and independence in possession belonging to the elevated locations. It has made three different and progressive attempts to accomplish this emancipation. The first was broached in the disguise of a movement from the side of the public, to which the no longer influential Citizens' Association lent its counsel, and its secretary, who made no secret of the fact that he was acting under the unofficial suggestions of certain members of the Boston Transit Commission—which body indeed assisted officially in the drawing of the bill. To measure the distance traversed in the past three years of stubborn struggle for the retention of the vantage ground held by the city in its possession of the subway built with great credit to themselves by the same commissioners, it is necessary to recall that the so-called Citizens' Association bill of 1900 proposed to have the new subway—the future main vertebral or trunkline of the whole system, be it understood—built and owned by the company, instead of the city. The city was, indeed, to be allowed to buy out the company at the end of thirty-seven years, if it should so decide within a certain limited and designated period—at the third quarter of a February moon, as it were—of three specified years far in the future.

To show the pace of the progress made to date toward better things, it is necessary to recall further that the **Governor Crane's Veto.** next succeeding bill offered by the elevated corporation wholly waived its former expectations of reimbursement for the cost of constructing the new subway, about \$6,000,000. Contenting itself with the prospect of forty years of absolute ownership and control of the entire system—city-owned subway and all—it was willing to make a free gift to the city of what it had demanded the full cost of only the year before. This was the bill celebrated for being passed by the Legislature in spite of vigorous,

protest by citizens with overwhelming votes in both houses and vetoed by Governor Crane, after which the Legislature at once retreated in stampede. The veto was mainly because it gave absolute and irrevocable control of location in the city's streets for more than a generation. This permanency of occupation has been the objective point in all the previous attempts, and is the objective, of course, of the new idea of this year, the deep-tunnel project of legislation which ex-Mayor Matthews, the distinguished lawyer who when Mayor, by midnight negotiations and various ingenious compromises, secured the eleventh-hour legislation by which the city got its subway. In the same bill the then Meigs Elevated Railway obtained (without knowing what it was worth, for it sold out for \$50,000), that irrevocable hold on what locations should be awarded. The present Mayor, also an able lawyer, Hon. Patrick A. Collins, is this year heading the aggressive opposition to the former Mayor's bill, taking his stand upon the principles of Governor Crane's veto of 1901.

This, then, is the general situation in Boston, as regards the street railway transportation, in the briefest possible outline.

Deep Tunnel Bill. The results of the persevering resistance of the defenders of the public interest are best

summed up in the statement of the able counsel of the elevated railway, ex-Attorney General Pillsbury, in his recent argument before the committee of the legislature, in favor of the deep tunnel bill. Presenting an elaborate array of financial statistics to show that the company's voluntary extension of its line and the introduction of the free transfer system has resulted, according to the books of the corporation, in a diminishing rate of profit, he claimed that the company was doing all that the public could ask. It was immediately pointed out in reply by the representative of the Associated Board of Trade, Mr. Brandeis, at this hearing, that the profits had nevertheless been sufficient to pay the dividends of the surface companies merged under the elevated and \$600,000 besides to the elevated company before its elevated lines were operated. The stock market furnishes a similar evidence; the stock has risen from 105 to about 170. Here in Boston, then, we have to report to the National Municipal League something

approaching the ideal condition, or rather tendencies toward the ideal; that is to say, the public facilities are increasing, and while the public ear is filled with laments of the invested capital that it is hard pushed by the public for improvements, its returns are really generous,—beyond expectation, indeed, as shown by the rise of the market premium on the stock. In other words, the public is reaping some share of the prosperity it makes for the road in reduction of fares and better service.

Nobody proposes to demand impossibilities of it; still less does anybody in his senses want to ruin or cripple it. It

Boston's Benefits. would be like killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. The public only wants to be

in a position to participate in the good things growing out of the increase of population and the progress of arts, discoveries and inventions permitting new economies, instead of allowing the corporation to dictate to the community and seeing the surplus profits capitalized in fresh fixed charges upon the earning capacity of the service for the benefit of the owners of the stock. The community's gains have been recently described in "*Harper's Weekly*." Its very enthusiastic article pronounces the "noble" Boston free transfer system "perhaps, indeed, the most important example of the kind to be seen anywhere." It says, "Broadly stated, the Boston elevated railway system is at present the only one in the world which—controlling all, or nearly all, the passenger transportation lines in a large city, and uniting under one management the service of subway lines, elevated lines and surface lines—undertakes to carry a passenger between any two points on its system for a single five-cent fare." It does not quite do this. Nor is it true that under this system every single fare includes, on the average, one or more transfers. Yet the Boston transfer system is demonstrated profitable, contributing to the prosperity of the system, as shown by its stock values. It is the estimate of this "*Harper's Weekly*" article that when the additions and improvements to our system of rapid transit now planned for are completed, "it may well be that the use of the local transportation facilities of Boston per capita will be greater than in any other city in the world."

When the original organizer of this great system, Mr. Henry

M. Whitney, suddenly withdrew all his interest in what his financial genius and courage had created, he **Results of State Control.** avowed, as one reason for this action, his conviction that the public was bound to take the profits of the street railway business. The Legislature had indeed cut down the amount of stock to be issued for his merging operation, and when the Elevated Company was ready to take a lease of the West End Street Railway Company for ninety-nine years and pay 8 per cent on the common stock of that company, the citizens' protest that was made against that lease resulted in the refusal of the Railroad Commissioners to approve the lease, and the making of a new lease in which the term was cut to less than twenty-five years and the rental was made 7 per cent instead of 8 per cent on the common stock of the West End Street Railway Company.

Mr. Whitney, on retiring from the street railway interests, threw his great powers, personal and financial, into the illuminating gas interests, or rather into one of the two competing gas "combines" contesting this metropolitan district. While convinced that the public was in future to limit the profits of the street railroad business, he still had faith that the other sort of control would be maintained over the gas situation with such issues of obligations of the existing companies as might be deemed necessary to attract investors. With the appropriately styled "Bay State" system, he entered into a sort of gentlemen's agreement to supply it with gas from his new plant for the manufacture of gas and coke out of Nova Scotia coal. The agreement escaped the control of the State Gas Commission as one made by gentlemen and not by a corporation; but the present confusion in this great public utility, which might easily become alarming, and Mr. Whitney's abandonment of it in disgust, would seem to indicate that, after all, the accepted public control is the best of guarantees for capitalists as well as for the public. All the parties to a "gentlemen's agreement," it appears, may sometimes not be gentlemen. Incidentally, it is worth noting as showing the importance in these days of an incorruptible executive, one who can be swayed by no considerations, personal, pecuniary or political, from a course once

**An
Incorruptible
Executive.**

resolved upon in reason and right, that not only is the Elevated Railway said to be sparring for time until Governor Crane's term has expired, but likewise the gas interests which have recently picked up the wreckage of the gas Titan's collision in Boston for salvage, are believed to be waiting until a successor shall fill his place at the State House. The eyes of the public are already fastened upon that successor. There is a standard already determined for him in Governor Crane's action below which it will not be even good politics for him to fall.

Thus has the community here guarded its interests hitherto as regards the use of the public services for the people on the best possible terms and to the best possible advantage. Whenever the able men engage in the management of great public monopolies for the moment seem to have forgotten, in their zeal for the interests of the corporations, their relations to their fellow-citizen and their city, there have not been wanting public-spirited citizens in the places of official power, in both city and state, and in the private station, to recall them to their duty as the servants rather than the masters of the community.

The Street Railway Situation in Chicago

By GEORGE C. SIKES

Secretary Committee on Local Transportation of the Chicago City Council

The street railway situation in Chicago presents for consideration both a governmental or political question and a question of transportation. Or, if you prefer, the problem is one having two main aspects, the one having to do with politics, that is, government; the other having to do with transportation. Of these two aspects, the political has overshadowed the other in importance. The agitation over the street railway question in Chicago has not been so much an agitation for good local transportation facilities as for good government. In days when the Chicago public was more apathetic than it is now, the traction interests, in their desire for still larger profits, reached out and took control of the city government and made of it an instrumentality for serving private ends. When the people awoke to a realization of the existence of a street railway question, they found themselves for the time being powerless. What was supposed to be a government of, by and for the people of Chicago was in fact a government by and for the public service corporations, among which the street railway companies were the most powerful and conspicuous. The first task confronting the people, therefore, was that of regaining control of their own government and making it responsive to the public will. The efforts put forth in this line, so far as the city government of Chicago is concerned, have been successful to a remarkable degree. The last stronghold of the public service corporations, the State Legislature, is now the object of attack, and that body, too, instead of being representative primarily of special corporate interests, must soon come to be, like the

Chicago city council, representative of the entire body of the people. After having wrestled for several years with the street railway question as a political question, the people of Chicago are now about ready to deal with it as a problem of transportation and to work out a solution on that line.

Before entering upon a discussion of some of the larger questions of street railway policy now under consideration in Chicago, it may be well to review as briefly as possible the main features in the development of the present situation.

The first ordinance under which street-car lines were constructed and operated in the city of Chicago was passed by the City Council August 16, 1858. The grant was to a group of individuals, and by its terms was to run for a period of twenty-five years, and thereafter until such time as the City Council should elect to purchase at an appraised valuation the physical property of the grantees. It was soon discovered that the City Council had no legal power to make such a grant. To cure this defect the Legislature, by special act of February 14, 1859, incorporated the grantees as the Chicago City Railway Company and validated, with all its terms and conditions, the grant which the City Council had sought to confer by the ordinance of August 16, 1858. The corporate life of the company by this legislative act was fixed at twenty-five years. The company was authorized to operate railways, that is, horse railways, in the south and west divisions of the city. By the same act was incorporated the North Chicago City Railway Company, with powers for the north division of the city similar to those of the Chicago City Railway Company for the south and west divisions; that is, it was empowered to construct and operate railways in such streets and on such terms as the Common Council had authorized or might authorize. By ordinance of May 23, 1859, the North Chicago City Railway Company and the Chicago City Railway Company were given grants covering important streets, which grants, by the terms of the ordinance, were to run for twenty-five years and no longer. The Legislature, on February 21, 1861, incorporated the Chicago West Division Railway Company, with powers for

**First Street
Railway
Ordinance.**

the west division of the city similar to those conferred on the other two companies. On or about August 1, 1863, the Chicago City Railway Company transferred to the Chicago West Division Railway Company control of all its lines located in the west division of the City. On February 6, 1865, the Legislature passed over the veto of Governor Oglesby, and in the face of strong popular protest, what is commonly known as the "ninety-nine-year act." This act amended the charters of the three companies by making their corporate life ninety-nine instead of twenty-five years. Apparently the act also attempted to extend for a like period—that is, from twenty-five to ninety-nine years—the rights of occupancy in the streets of Chicago, which the companies had secured from the City Council for the shorter period of time. However, the language of the act which it is claimed accomplishes this end has never received judicial interpretation. As a protest against this piece of legislation, there was incorporated in the Constitution of Illinois adopted in 1870 a provision forbidding the Legislature to grant "the right to construct and operate a street railroad within any city, town or incorporated village without requiring the consent" of the proper local authorities. In 1872 the Legislature passed a general act for the incorporation of cities, which act was adopted by the voters of Chicago, April 23, 1875. This act, among other things, required all street railway franchises thereafter granted to be limited in duration to twenty years. The Horse and Dummy Act, passed in 1874, also limited all future street railway grants to twenty years. According to the terms of the ordinance as passed by the city council, the grants made in 1858 should have expired or should have been terminable in 1883. The City claimed the grants were terminable. The companies set up claims to ninety-nine-year rights under the act of 1865. The City Council finally passed a blanket extension ordinance, running for twenty years, or until July 30, 1903, which ordinance virtually projected the controversy over the so-called ninety-nine-year act twenty years into the future, by stipulating that the rights and claims of either party at the expiration of the extension period should not be affected or altered by anything contained in the extension grant.

Perhaps the event of greatest significance and of most far-reaching importance in the street railway history of Chicago was the entrance into the field of Mr. Charles T. Yerkes. Mr. Yerkes introduced in Chicago what are commonly designated by citizens of the western metropolis as "Philadelphia methods." Recent events in the Keystone State and in the Quaker City will

Introduction of "Philadelphia Methods." make it easier for you to understand what the term "Philadelphia methods" signifies to the people of Chicago. Mr. Yerkes had left Philadelphia under rather unpleasant circumstances.

When he set up as a broker in Chicago in the early eighties he was a man without capital. He was, however, possessed of great shrewdness and ability. He had the dare-devil courage of the highwayman, and, like the highwayman, he was without conscientious scruples as to methods to be employed in accomplishing results. He was far-seeing enough to understand the possibilities of street railway development in a City like Chicago, and his Philadelphia experience had taught him the value, to the financier, of the ability to combine politics with business. Moreover, he still had powerful Philadelphia connections that furnished him with funds to float his Chicago projects.

The Allen Law. In 1886 and 1887 Mr. Yerkes, for himself and his associates, chief of whom were Messrs. Elkins and Widener, of Philadelphia, secured control of a majority of the stock of the companies operating in the north and west divisions of the City. Then began the most remarkable era of financing and of political manipulation that Chicago has ever known. Securities have been piled on top of securities in the most confusing manner. Politically, Mr. Yerkes became the most powerful factor in the community. He dominated conventions and made and unmade Councils and Mayors, all of course under cover as much as possible. During his later days he had nearly as much to say in naming Governors and in controlling the action of State Legislatures. But the very audacity of the man's plans finally proved his undoing, by furnishing to the people the shock necessary to stimulate them to effective action. Mr. Yerkes wanted more valuable grants than it was possible for the Council under the law to vote him. He went to the Legislature of 1895 with bills

that were passed without much difficulty, but their final success was blocked by the veto of Governor Altgeld. Angered at this defeat of his project, Mr. Yerkes decided to name the next Governor of the state himself and thus be sure of having there a man who would carry out his wishes, and in this he succeeded. But, in the meantime, the Legislature had become somewhat more sensitive to popular criticism, and in the face of public protest did not dare to enact the bolder measures asked for by Mr. Yerkes, known as the Humphrey bills. The Legislature of 1897 did, however, pass, and the Governor approved, the Allen law, which made the position of the companies much stronger in many ways, and among other things authorized Councils to make grants running for fifty-year periods. By this time, however, so much progress had been made with governmental conditions in Chicago that the City government refused to make any grant whatever until the odious Allen law should be repealed, and that law was repealed by the succeeding Legislature that met in 1899.

The removal from the statute books of the Allen law may be said to mark the end of the era of distinctively negative or obstructive tactics on the part of the opposition to the franchise grabbers. About that time was inaugurated the constructive policy that has put the seekers for privileges on the defensive and has placed the City in an aggressive attitude on this whole matter.

The Chicago city government may be said to have reached its lowest level about 1895. The prevailing tone of pessimism at that time concerning the outlook was something remarkable. The Municipal Voters' League was organized in 1896, and from the outset met with astonishing success in its effort to secure the election of better men to the city council. The street railway franchise issue, and the knowledge that the near expiration of the most important grants would afford the Council great opportunities for either good or evil to the community, were the elements which enabled the Voters' League to score its victories. In the spring of 1897 Carter Harrison was elected Mayor, and his stand on the street railway question has caused him to be twice elected since to the same position. In his first adminis-

tration especially, when the Council was weaker than it is to-day, Mayor Harrison rendered invaluable service to Chicago in preventing the granting of the ordinances desired by the companies. The council, late in 1897, passed a set of resolutions offered by Alderman John Maynard Harlan, directing the appointment of a special committee to collate information. This committee made a report in 1898 setting forth in convenient form for reference, information of very great value. This committee did not make any recommendations.

Late in 1899 the City Council, on motion of Alderman Milton J. Foreman, passed resolutions creating what was styled **Street Railway Commission**, which was really a special committee of the City Council.

This body submitted to the City Council, December 16, 1900, its report, which was a discussion of various questions of street railway policy, together with the draft of a bill for submission to the State Legislature. The bill in its nature was intended to be merely a piece of enabling legislation. Among other things, it authorized cities to acquire and own, and under certain conditions to operate, street railways. There was also a referendum feature. This bill did not get out of committee of either house of the general assembly. In fact, the Legislature of 1901 was organized to prevent measures of this kind receiving any consideration whatever.

In 1901 the Street Railway Commission was succeeded by a special committee of the City Council, somewhat differently constituted, known as the Committee on Local Transportation. After the election of April 1, 1902, this committee was made a permanent standing committee of the council. As its main work for 1901 this committee formulated and submitted to the Council an outline of the provisions that ought to be incorporated in the franchise renewal ordinances when passed. This outline stipulates, among other things, that the grant should be for a period of twenty years, but with a reservation to the city of the right of purchase at any time after the expiration of the first ten years of the grant. The outline also reserves to the City Council large powers of control, calls for a considerable amount of underground trolley, and requires the companies to waive absolutely all claim of rights under the so-

called ninety-nine-year act. Unless I greatly misjudge the situation, this outline of the committee on local transportation must be accepted by the companies practically in its entirety if they are to get franchise renewals at all. It is no longer a question of what concessions the companies are willing to make in return for franchise renewals. It is now chiefly a question of what terms the city authorities will offer to the companies.

After the repeal of the Allen law and the reëlection in 1899 of Mayor Harrison and the election at the same time of another

Retirement of Mr. Yerkes. Council strongly opposed to the domination of politics by special interests, Mr. Yerkes

concluded it was time for him to retire. A new company, styled the Chicago Union Traction Company, was formed to take over the Yerkes properties under lease, in the summer of 1899. Whether the interests in control of this new company will be more acceptable to the people of Chicago than Mr. Yerkes himself yet remains to be seen, and depends upon the course they choose to pursue. As yet they have done absolutely nothing to win public favor for themselves. In the first place, the financial transaction by which the new company acquired control was not calculated to inspire popular confidence, because, like the previous Yerkes financial maneuvers, it simply meant putting out more securities without adding anything of value to the property. Mr. Yerkes has taken himself to London, where apparently he has found a fruitful field for exploitation. If, before he is through with London, Mr. Yerkes does not teach the Londoners a few tricks—which I suppose we shall some time be obliged to hear described as American tricks—I shall be very much surprised.

Limitations of time render it impossible for me to tell of the work done by private associations, as I have been requested to do. It is notable, however, that the work of such associations of very recent years has not been outside of, and in opposition to, the city authorities, but has been almost uniformly in support of efforts put forth by those authorities to work out a solution of the problem. I must, however, speak of one particular investigation carried on by a committee of the Civic Federation, of which committee Mr. Wm. A. Giles was chair-

man and a heavy contributor to the fund for bearing the expense of the work. During a time when the companies were anxious to cultivate public favor this committee was given the opportunity of examining their books, for which purpose the services of an expert accountant—Mr. E. F. Bard—were secured. The results of this investigation were edited by Dr. Maltbie and published in "Municipal Affairs" for June, 1901. The following quotation (referring to the Chicago City Railway Company) from Dr. Maltbie's introductory article, will give some idea of how profitable the street railway business has been in Chicago :

"The history of the stock and bond issues shows how very remunerative the street railway industry upon the south side Results of an has been. In 1881 the capital stock was Investigation. \$1,500,000, which has gradually been increased to \$18,000,000. All of this stock, except possibly \$250,000, which was issued as dividends, has been sold to stockholders at par. Without exception, it could have been sold at a premium immediately after issue, which means that a large bonus has been given to the stockholders each time. Including the regular annual dividends of 10 per cent in 1882 and 12 per cent each year since, the extra dividends in stock, bonds and cash, and the premiums upon the stock and bond issues, we have total dividends of \$37,602,- 187.50 paid between January 1, 1898, or an average of 44.63 per cent per annum for sixteen years. Since January 1, 1898, \$6,000,000 in stock has been issued at par, \$1,000,000 in July, 1899, \$500,000 in August, 1900, and \$4,500,000 July 1, 1901. The market price of the stock after the first issue was 277, after the second, 242, and after the third, 209. The bonus upon the 1899 issue was, therefore, \$1,770,000; upon the 1900 issue, \$710,000, and upon the 1901 issue, \$4,905,000. The percentages for the respective years, upon the basis of stock outstanding when sales were made, were 14 $\frac{3}{4}$, 5 6-13, and 36 $\frac{1}{3}$ respectively. Adding the regular quarterly dividends for these years —12 per cent per annum—the total dividends would be 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, 17 6-13 per cent, and 48 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, respectively, an average of nearly 31 per cent for the last three years.

"It is to be remembered, however, that the stock contains

at least \$8,400,000 of water; the present value of the productive assets—the real capital—being not more than \$9,800,000. The net earnings for 1900 were \$1,888,000, which, upon a capitalization of \$9,800,000, would yield dividends of over 19.2 per cent. Thus, the Chicago City Railway Company could give the City 20 per cent of its gross earnings and still pay 8 per cent dividends upon the actual capital invested. Or, it could pay the City 16 per cent of gross earnings, lay aside 4 per cent for depreciation, and still pay 6 per cent dividends. Or, it could reduce fares to 4 cents on the basis of the present traffic and still pay 8 per cent dividends upon the actual capital invested. Or, it could sell 6 tickets for 25 cents and lay aside 4 per cent for depreciation and 6 per cent for dividends. The increase in traffic which would follow this reduction of fares would probably render a still further reduction possible."

A word as to the character of the transportation facilities afforded by the carrying corporations of Chicago.

Chicago has probably the best and the poorest transportation facilities of any city in the country. I do not believe

Chicago's Transportation Facilities. that there is to be found anywhere in the world a local transportation service equal to that furnished by the Illinois Central railroad. This

road has four tracks devoted exclusively to city and suburban traffic, two tracks being used for local and two for express trains. The express trains, which run at frequent intervals during the day, make a distance of some seven miles without a single stop, covering the distance in about 12 minutes. This is real rapid transit. Some other steam roads and the elevated roads also furnish a fairly satisfactory service. But the service provided by the street railway companies of Chicago is miserable, and is the subject of never-ending complaint among citizens. The characteristic features of recent street railway development in American cities have been: (1) The unification of companies, with the extension of transfer privileges; (2) the substitution of diametrical routes running through the city from end to end, where practicable, for routes terminating in the business center; and (3) the general adoption of electricity as motive power. In all three of these features is Chicago belated.

Unification has been delayed because the men in control of the various properties would neither part with that control nor enter into a general consolidation arrangement, except upon a basis that would enable them to capitalize and take out in advance all the prospective profits of the business for a generation to come. The complete absence of through routes is one of the consequences of the existence of separate companies, not co-ordinated in any way. Chicago is pretty nearly the only city in the country in which the antiquated cable form of propulsion is still used. The chief cause for the retention of cable power is the difference between the companies and the city as to what should take its place. The companies have been anxious to equip all their cable lines with the overhead trolley; but the city authorities, very properly I think, have said that when the cable should be abandoned it must be succeeded by the underground trolley.

Speaking generally, the street railway service is unprogressive and very unsatisfactory, despite its great profitableness,

Unprogressive Service. and is the cause of much of the prevailing popular feeling against the companies. The service furnished by the City Railway Company

is not nearly so bad as that in the other two sections of the City, where the Union Traction Company is in control, but even the City Railway service is far from good. One thing the City Railway Company does—it gives transfers liberally; while the Yerkes companies, and their successor, the Union Traction Company, have been so niggardly in this matter as to interfere with their own best interests.

For the light that it throws on the situation, I must speak also of the referendum vote at the city election of April 1

Referendum Vote. last. A recent Illinois statute, known as the Public Opinion law, makes it possible for a specified percentage of the voters, by petition, to require questions of public policy, not to exceed three in number at any one election, to be submitted to popular vote. By virtue of this law, three propositions were submitted, as follows:

For ownership by the City of Chicago of all street railroads within the corporate limits of said City.

For ownership by the City of Chicago of the gas and elec-

tric lighting plants, said plants to furnish light, heat and power for public and private use.

For the nomination of all candidates for City offices by direct vote of the voters at primary elections to be held for that purpose.

The total vote cast at the election was about 200,000, or a little more than half the vote that would be cast by Chicago at a presidential election. The vote cast on the propositions was as follows:

Ownership of street railways—For, 142,826; against, 27,998.

Ownership of lighting plants—For, 139,999; against, 21,364.

Direct nomination—For, 140,086; against, 17,654.

The vote on these propositions is merely a register of popular opinion. It has no legal or binding effect. Nevertheless, the announcement of the returns seemed to produce a profound impression on the community, and especially on the political leaders. The direct expression from the people themselves effectually stopped the mouths of those who were contending that the people were against the municipal ownership idea. The vote certainly indicates an intense dissatisfaction with the existing situation. I do not interpret it as a mandate from the electorate for immediate municipalization, but rather as indicating the ultimate solution favored by the people.

Having outlined the historical development of the street railway question in Chicago, I will now indicate Existing Situation. the main features of the situation as it exists at the present time.

A large and important part of the Chicago Street Railway franchises, about 50 per cent, according to the contention of the city, expire or are terminable by the city July 30, 1903. The remaining franchises expire at various times thereafter, running along until about 1912, or a little later. According to the contention of the companies, a considerable portion of the grants that are claimed by the city to expire in 1903 are protected by the ninety-nine year act, before referred to, and will not expire for more than half a century yet. The city council, instead of waiting until the companies should come in with their request for renewals, as is usually the case, has taken the initiative and created a committee to outline the

provisions of the renewal ordinance. The report of that committee is now awaiting action by the Council. Persumably, if adopted, that report will be taken as the basis for negotiations between the City and the companies. The Council has also authorized the Committee on Local Transportation to employ engineering experts to give advice on the engineering and transportation aspects of the problem. It is the opinion of the Committee on Local Transportation, as expressed by its report, that the franchise renewal controversy should be settled as soon as possible by the granting of the renewal ordinance, provided the companies will accept such terms as the City is willing to offer. On this point the committee and Mayor Harrison are at variance. The Mayor, in a special message on the subject and in newspaper interviews, has declared himself opposed to the passage of any renewal ordinance whatever until the Legislature shall have enacted legislation authorizing cities to own street railways. The Mayor does not favor the municipalization of Chicago street railways in the immediate future. He merely insists that the desired enabling legislation shall be secured in advance, because if it is not, he says, the companies after having secured from the Council the concessions they need, will block the passage by the Legislature of any measure looking to ultimate municipal ownership. The Mayor has also said that the people must be given an opportunity, through the referendum, to pass judgment on any renewal grant before it shall become effective.

It is difficult to say what the attitude or intentions of the companies are at the present time. Seemingly the City Rail-

Present
Attitude of
Companies.

way Company is ready to negotiate with the City. Seemingly, too, the Union Traction Company officials are disposed to stand on their alleged ninety-nine-year rights and to pretend that they are not seriously in need of favors from the City Council. What the real position of either of these companies may be has not yet been developed. The City Railway Company is in good financial condition, having no bonds outstanding. Its capital stock is \$18,000,000, on about two hundred and ten miles of single-track road, making a capitalization per mile of single track of a little more than \$85,000.

The Union Traction Company, on the other hand, is in very bad financial condition. The property is probably bonded for more than the value of the physical assets. In addition there are enormous dividend guarantees on the stocks of underlying companies. In one case there is a guarantee of 35 and in another of 30 per cent on stock that represents at the present time no physical property whatever, but simply franchise values, and those franchises, it is the contention of the city, are about to expire. There are other guarantees of 12 and 6 per cent on stock that is very heavily watered. In view of these circumstances, there is little wonder that the operating company—the Union Traction Company—finds it difficult to pay dividends. There can be no settlement fair to the city that does not involve a scaling down of the securities, not only of the Union Traction, but of the underlying companies as well. The chief men back of the Union Traction and the underlying interests are desperate men who make a business of playing for big game. They not only have no notion of submitting to any scaling down process, but they appear still to be laboring under the delusion that ultimately they can effect a settlement that will give greatly increased value to all their heavily inflated securities. Clearly such a settlement cannot be had at the present time. Therefore, these interests apparently prefer delay, in the hope that succeeding Councils and Mayors may be more amenable to traction influences.

In this, it seems to me, the traction managers are stupidly blind to their own best interests. They fail to comprehend the meaning of events about them. Public sentiment is moving steadily and irresistibly forward. There has been no time in the past five years when the companies could not have secured a settlement more favorable to their interests than they can secure to-day. In my opinion, the longer the companies delay making the settlement, the more concessions will they be obliged to make in return for franchise renewals.

Your secretary, in requesting me to prepare a paper on the Chicago street railway problem, also asked for Possible Solutions. I trust that in a gathering of this kind I can give expression to my own individual views without having

that expression taken as reflecting the ideas of any one but myself.

As to municipalization, I am free to say that, if the property could be acquired without too much difficulty, I should like to see the City of Chicago begin to own and operate on July 30, 1903, all street railways within the limits of the City. I believe Chicago is ready now, so far as the wisdom of the policy itself is concerned, to own and operate its street railways; not ready in the ideal sense that its government is everything that might be desired; no government will ever be ready in that sense for any progressive move; but I believe Chicago is ready in the practical sense that much better results could be secured at once from public than from private management. Moreover, I believe Chicago is better prepared than any other large city in the country to cope successfully with the experiment of municipalization.

I believe municipalization of street railways would mean at once for Chicago: (1) Better facilities, (2) lower fares, and (3) better treatment of employees. To elaborate on the one point of service: Municipalization would mean unification, with all its advantages, such as the extension of transfer privileges and the substitution of through routes for the present disconnected routes. The city as owner, no doubt, would also utilize the underground trolley to a greater extent than the present companies will consent to do.

Why do I think Chicago is better prepared for municipalization than any other large city in the country? Because during the past

Chicago
Prepared for
Municipalization.

five years more substantial progress in governmental conditions has been made in Chicago, and because, moreover, the people of Chicago have shown more capacity for dealing effectively with the general street railway problem than have the citizens of any other city. Our people have been educated by five years of persistent agitation, in which they have been called upon several times to do their part. The reform movement in Chicago has been along democratic lines, thus indicating the capacity of the people themselves to solve these problems. In too many American cities, when democratic or supposedly democratic governmental agencies have gone wrong, instead of seeking to

reclaim those agencies, the procedure has been to ignore the democratic nature of our institutions and to seek improvement by vesting large powers in the hands of a few persons removed as remotely as possible from the people. The Mayor has been made all-powerful and the Council a mere ornamental branch of government. Chicago has not done that way, not because our mayors are less qualified than other mayors for the exercise of despotic powers, but because it is not the democratic way to do. The people of Chicago simply took their council in hand as it was and reformed it. The city that can do that is better qualified to run its street railways than a city which merely happens for the time being to have a capable chief executive. The state and general effectiveness of the public sentiment of a community is of more importance than the government of the moment, and public sentiment in Chicago is remarkably effective. The organs of public sentiment—the newspapers—are more independent and exercise a greater influence in municipal policies in Chicago, I believe, than in any other American city. Again, the strength of civil service sentiment is stronger in Chicago, I believe, and the civil service system is better entrenched than in any other city of this country. At first the governing authorities with us, as elsewhere, misused the law and tried to make a farce of the civil service system, and for a time they succeeded; but public sentiment forced a change. The present Chicago civil service commission is a body enjoying the respect of the community. The clever politicians, instead of opposing civil service regulations, are now seeking to win public favor by advocating the extension to state institutions, now under the patronage régime, of civil service regulations similar to those in use in Chicago. Were Chicago to municipalize its street railways, no administration would dare do otherwise than place all the employees at once under honest civil service regulations. The municipalization of street railways in Chicago, instead of taking the street railway employees into politics, would take them out; for it must not be supposed that those employees are not in politics at the present time. It is easier today for a politician of influence to place a constituent on the pay-roll of a street railway company than it is to place him in the City Hall. The "car-barn vote" in Chicago, and I suppose in other cities,

is recognized as an important factor, both in primary and general elections, and it is a dangerous vote because controlled to a very large extent by the barn "boss" in the interest of the company. The dangerous activity of the street railway companies in politics constitutes one of the strongest arguments for the complete municipalization of street railways.

The very unsatisfactory service furnished by the present companies is an added reason why Chicago, more than other cities which have better service, should deem itself ready to try municipalization.

In order to insure a still better prospect of success, however, in case the city were to undertake the experiment of municipi-

A Non-Partisan palization, I should like to see legislation secured covering the following points: The **Ballot Needed.** establishment of the non-partisan ballot advocated by the National Municipal League, higher salaries for aldermen, and better methods of accounting. The non-partisan plan of nomination, under which all names of candidates for city offices would go on the ballot by petition, and in no other way, would do much to insure the permanent good character of the city council. The payment of higher salaries to aldermen would do much to insure the retention in the council of men of ability. The state, whenever it passes legislation permitting municipalization, should require the adoption of accounting methods that will enable the people to understand at all times just what the results of municipal management are.

While I do not doubt the success of municipalization, whenever it shall be inaugurated in Chicago, whether sooner or

Obstacles to later, I do not anticipate that the street rail-
Municipalization. ways of that city will be municipalized in the immediate future, and for the following reasons:

1. The city has not at the present time the legal power to own and operate street railways.
2. The city has not the financial ability to pay for any street railways it might seek to acquire.
3. The grants of the companies do not all expire in 1903. There would, therefore, no doubt, be disagreement between the city and the companies as to the terms on which the unexpired

grants should be taken over, which would in all probability lead to protracted litigation. This situation would also be further complicated by claims the companies would set up to rights under the so-called ninety-nine-year act.

Of the three difficulties named, the first two could be removed by the Legislature. The third difficulty is not so easily overcome. It would seem to be the expedient thing to do, therefore, in view of the practical complications connected with acquiring the property, to grant the companies another short-term renewal on condition that the city should have the right to purchase all the property at an appraised valuation at some specified date in the future. It seems to me the sooner that renewal ordinance is granted, and the companies set to work reorganizing their system, the better for all concerned.

However, there is a suspicion in some quarters that the companies will not accept any settlement they can secure at the present time; that they intend to take the dog-in-the-manger attitude and, by refusing to accept any settlement offered, or to improve the present miserable service, drive the people to come to their terms. I do not believe the people of Chicago will allow themselves to be circumvented in any such manner. It is for that reason that I think the companies ought soon to be forced to say whether they will or will not accept such a settlement as the city is willing to offer. In case they will not, the city ought to go to the Legislature, not for mere enabling legislation, such as was asked for from the last general assembly, but for a grant of power authorizing it to take from the companies all their property under the right of eminent domain; the city in such case to pay not only for the physical property but also for the unexpired franchise values, including the value of the so-called ninety-nine year act, at whatever the courts shall hold them to be worth.

If a franchise is to be granted, the important thing for the public authorities to do is to retain control as far as possible.

Report of
Transportation
Committee.

And there is only one way to retain effective control, and that is for the authorities to reserve the right to terminate the grant whenever the grantee shall fail to satisfy the public. That is a form of grant with which the people of Massachusetts

and the City of Washington are familiar. The people of Chicago may not yet be ready to adopt that kind of grant in its entirety, but the council committee has made a step towards it in recommending the reservation of the right to take over the property at any time after the expiration of the first ten years of the grant.

If I were to criticize the report of the Committee on Local Transportation in any respects, it would be on account of the recommendation for compensation which it contains, and the absence of any labor provisions. It seems to me that a street railway company is not a proper tax-collecting agency. The benefits to accrue from a settlement of the franchise controversy ought to go to the people in the form of better service and reduced fares, rather than as money compensation to the public treasury. As to labor provisions, street railway employees are indirectly the servants of the public, and the public ought to see that those who serve it are fairly treated. Street railway employees the country over, as a rule, are an overworked and underpaid set of men. In order to prevent interruptions of service due to labor disputes, the city authorities, in making grants, should require some guarantees of fair treatment for employees. At the least every grant ought to contain a stipulation concerning the maximum length of the working day and the minimum wage to be paid.

There remains for consideration the referendum. It is said that appeal to the referendum is well enough for matters of principle or of general policy, but that details should be left to delegated agencies. It is especially said that the terms of a renewal ordinance ought not to be submitted to popular vote; for such an ordinance must be the result of negotiation and compromise, and the people, not being familiar with all the stages of the negotiations, might reject an ordinance that was really the best obtainable under the circumstances. Then, too, it is said, it is much easier to defeat a given proposition than to agree upon anything in its place. By arraying all the elements of discontent against every proposition presented, it may be found impossible to make any grant whatever.

I recognize much force in these objections. At the same

time, to deny the applicability of the referendum to renewal ordinances is to prevent its use where most needed, if it is of value at all. When one looks over the country and sees how generally the people are being betrayed and misrepresented by agents exercising delegated power, it seems to me our judgment ought to be in favor of the referendum, despite all its possible difficulties. I think it of more importance to guarantee the safe-guarding of the public interests against betrayal in matters of so much importance than to make it certain that a franchise will be granted when needed. It seems to me that the referendum feature contained in the bill prepared by the Chicago Street Railway Commission about meets the situation. That provision is that no ordinance making a grant running for a longer period than five years shall go into effect until sixty days after its passage, and if, within the sixty days, ten per cent of the electorate shall petition for submission, the ordinance shall not go into effect until approved by popular vote. Such a provision would leave the council free to make necessary short-term grants, while reserving to the people the power, if they desire to use it, to prevent the ratification of the long-term contracts that are the cause of so much scandal.

The Franchise Situation and the Referendum in Cleveland

By EDWARD W. BEMIS, PH.D.

Superintendent of the Cleveland Water-Works

During the past year Cleveland has contributed some interesting and valuable chapters upon the franchise question, and even more important contributions are likely to appear in the near future. Postponing for a moment, however, the consideration of this, one may quickly dispose of what has been done with respect to the referendum.

The Referendum. With a majority hostile to the party in control in Cleveland and also hostile to advanced steps in the monopoly problem, the efforts of the solid delegation from Cuyahoga county, backed up by the almost unanimous vote of the Cleveland City Council to secure the right of popular decision with regard to franchise questions, met with crushing defeat in the Legislature this spring. The final blow was delivered in defeating a proposed amendment to a bill which was passed taking away the control of Cleveland parks from the administration, and conferring the control upon a park board appointed by a county judge, of Republican politics. The amendment in question would have left to the voters of the City of Cleveland the final decision as to whether they preferred the new or the former method of park control. Just before this amendment, so apparently in accord with American traditions, was voted down by a strict party vote, a leader of the Senate had the assurance to make the following remarkable statement :

"I should hesitate to permit the people to vote on matters pertaining to the parks. The parks are a contribution from the rich to the poor,—a contribution from the more intelligent to the less intelligent. They should not be controlled by

those who have the political or business interests of the city on their hands. The parks should be controlled by the class which donated them."

Last week the Legislature followed up the attack upon the referendum and all home rule by lodging the local assessment of all property for taxation in the hands of **Attack on Home Rule.** a state board in any county where such action might be requested by the County Auditor. The courts have been asked to determine whether this delegation of the law-making power to the auditor is constitutional. It is well understood that this act is to enable the defeated County Auditor of Cuyahoga county, before he goes out of office, to throw all local assessments into the hands of this undemocratic body, to be appointed by the Governor, Attorney General and state auditor. But a reaction against this extreme legislation is sure to follow, and in fact there is evidence already at hand that the principle of the referendum and home rule has received fresh impetus from these very attacks.*

The franchise question had already reached a critical stage at the time of Mayor Johnson's election in April, 1901; in fact, the size of his majority was in part due to that question. The gas company had just secured a ten-year extension of its privileges under very suspicious circumstances, and the street railways had only been prevented from a still longer extension by reason of intense public indignation. In the course of two subsequent elections for the City Council, which consists of one branch of twenty-two members, all but two of the "solid thirteen" that favored the worst of the franchise and other legislation of that time have been retired to private life.

The first effort of Mayor Johnson along franchise lines was to bring evidence before the local assessment board to show **Assessment of Franchises.** that the entire assessment upon the real estate and personal property of the street railway and lighting companies of the city was only about 10 per cent of the market value of their securities, or of the capitalization of their acknowledged net earnings at 5½ per cent, while other property in the city outside of the steam railroads was assessed on the average at 40 to

*See page 207.

60 per cent of its true value. Yet a large portion of the latter was fiercely competitive, and was not possessed of special privileges in the streets. The hearings before this local board were sometimes sensational in the extreme. This was particularly the case when one of the gas companies which had been assessed on real estate and personal property at less than \$1,400,000, was shown to have averaged dividends of 8 per cent cash and 5 per cent in stock worth much over 200, and when it was further shown that this stock of a par value of \$3,800,000 had all been accumulated, save the first \$100,000 or less, out of earnings. The Mayor insisted that the stock was worth fully 250, and he would pay that much for it. One official of the company thereupon asked if the Mayor would agree in writing to buy 1,000 shares at that figure, and he at once agreed to sign such a contract for all that they would deliver up to 1,000 shares within three days; but not a share was produced.

Subsequently a State Board of Appraisers and Assessors, recently dubbed the "board of oppressors and assessors," sitting as a board of revision and consisting of the Governor, Attorney General and State Auditor, remitted all this additional assessment, of about \$20,000,000 which was put upon the Cleveland monopolies by the local board, and thereby the City was deprived of over \$450,000 of taxes upon which it relied for needed public improvements this year.

The action of the State Board is being contested in the courts, and the State Legislature, as already mentioned, has guarded against any repetition of the increase of assessment of the street railways, or at least it thinks it has done so, by the creation of a State Board appointed by this Board of Revision and serving for five years, one member going out of office, however, every year. The action is very generally denounced, and it is likely to bring a repeal of the law by the next Legislature.

Following close upon this experiment, still only just begun, of raising as much of the public revenue as possible by taxing monopoly and privilege instead of private property in competitive business, came the grant of a street railway franchise under most novel conditions.

For the first time in the history of the country, a street

Three-cent Franchise. railway franchise has been granted for a straight three-cent cash fare without tickets. It is for an extensive system, which is expected to embrace seventy miles of streets in Cleveland, and its suburbs during the next four years, and as fast as consents from property owners can be obtained on the various streets. Already on several streets the requirement of the state law that calls for the consent of the owners of one-half of the abutting property on each street, so as to permit the immediate construction of several miles of double track has been met. A cash deposit of \$50,000 is in the hands of the City to guarantee the good faith of the company, a few car-loads of rails have already arrived, and men were beginning the work of laying the same in April, when a temporary injunction threw the matter into the courts. The franchise provides for full control by the City of the character of the service and for the right of the City to purchase the road at any time during the twenty years' life of the franchise on paying the structural value of the plant plus 10 per cent. It is also provided that after ten years one-half of the net profits above 8 per cent on the structural value shall go to the municipality. The provision on that point is carefully drawn!

"Whenever, after ten years from the date hereof, the net earnings of said company shall exceed 8 per centum per annum on the actual bone fide value of said road, equipment, extensions, etc., irrespective of the capitalization thereof, the owner shall pay one-half of said net earnings in excess of 8 per cent, whether said earnings are applied to interest payments, dividends, surplus, extensions or betterments, into the city treasury, and for the purpose of ascertaining said value, the same procedure shall obtain as provided in Section 17 hereof for purchase."

Right to Use Existing Tracks. In order to reach important centers, advantage is taken of an Ohio law which allows a road to use the tracks and wires of an existing road to the extent of one-eighth of the mileage of the new company, on payment to the old company of the cost of using its power and track, independent of any franchise. The new ordinance further provides that the new three-cent

fare road, known as the People's Street Railway, may build so-called straddle tracks on certain streets, i. e., it may lay its tracks a few inches from the rails of the old company, using the modern grooved girder rails, that do not interfere with the wheels of vehicles and bicycles. Advantage was also taken of the fact that in years past the City, in granting franchises, had wisely reserved the right to permit any new company to share the use of the tracks on certain streets without any reference to the above provision of one mile in eight. To the People's Railway, as it is called, has already been granted the use of five and one-half miles of such so-called "free territory," and some of its own original grant is made free territory.

Nearly all street railway men claim that it is impossible to earn any profit and proper depreciation charges with three-cent fares, but the inside facts of Detroit's experience, when Mayor Johnson was president of the road in 1899-1900, and the experience in reducing fares in Toronto and some other places, indicate that in our larger cities three-cent fares are likely to so increase profitable short-distance traffic as to return a good profit on the actual investment of the plant, where a further investment in City Councils and in the manufacturing of public opinions is not also necessary. The existing Cleveland railways are fighting the three-cent fare road as if they feared that, after all, it will be a financial success.

The writer, in last November's issue of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, showed how, with an increase of 50 per cent in traffic in Toronto during the six years ending with June, 1899, the operating expenses per passenger fell from 2.53 cents to two cents, because an increase of 10,611,930 passengers involves a total increase of operating expenses of only \$112,728 in 1899 above, that in 1893, or 1.06 cents for each of these additional passengers. A profit of one cent per passenger will return a good profit on the physical investment in the case of most street railways in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants. There would be a large increase in traffic without a proportionate increase in their fixed charges or operating expenses because of a reduction of fare from 5 cents to 3 cents.

The franchise was granted differently from any other known

to the writer in this country. Instead of a company coming forward and seeking a franchise, making out Ordinance its route and seeking to impose its own terms Prepared by upon the City, the City itself took the initiative, the City. before any company had appeared, selected the route, drafted the ordinance, and called for bids, the company giving the lowest rate of fare to be given the preference.

There was, however, but one bid, and no terms were offered more advantageous than those incorporated in the ordinance above described. The new company was organized by Mr. John B. Hoefgen, formerly connected with Mr. Tom L. Johnson's street railway enterprises in Brooklyn and elsewhere, and later a successful financier and manager of railroad enterprises on his own account in Pennsylvania and other parts of the country.

There was much opposition in the Council, but the general demand of the voters for three-cent fares and municipal ownership and the influence of the Mayor in the same direction, were so great that the opposition at critical periods dwindled away to a small minority.

The two old companies, by financial inducements and in other ways, tried to get the owners of abutting property to withhold their consents, or to withdraw them after they were given. These efforts culminated in the temporary defeat of the People's Company, which could not secure, or at least could not retain, the necessary number of consents on two important streets. It so happened, however, that these streets were in reality only portions of one long street, which went under four different names in four different sections. The Mayor, therefore, introduced an ordinance consolidating the four streets into one, for on the one long street it was believed impossible for the old companies to buy off a sufficient number of property owners. After a sensational fight, this union of streets was accomplished.

The two old companies are still attempting legal obstruction, but the new road seems assured. Fortunately there were a large number of streets in this rapidly growing city of over 400,000 inhabitants, that were deficient in street railway facilities when this three-cent road was proposed. The old companies, also, had lost popular support by reason of a big strike upon one of

them two years ago, and because of the methods they had taken to secure extensions of franchises during the few months preceding the election of the present mayor, as already indicated. Some of these franchises expire within three years, and most of the others a few years later. This new road will probably force the others to come to a three-cent fare sooner or later, and anyway will furnish a means by which the city can enter upon street railway operation of the new company at any time, and thus be in a position to take over the old roads as fast as the franchises upon them expire, if meantime the legislature can be induced to insert the right of municipal ownership of street railways in the city charter.

The existing railway companies of Cleveland, acting nominally through a taxpayer, are now endeavoring to show defects

**Opposition
of Existing
Companies.**

in the franchise granted to the new company.

The chief of these defects is said to be that the route finally described and granted by the council

differs in a few places from the exact route described in the formal advertisement of the council for bids. It is not asserted that the new streets are any more valuable for street railway purposes than the others, the real reason for the change having been the inability to secure consents on two or three short streets in the face of the offers of the existing roads. The attorneys of the city do not believe that any permanent obstacle can be placed in the way of the three-cent-fare road, but serious delays are possible. The great point gained, however, is that the people now realize the possibility of getting three-cent fares, and they know who are responsible for delays. On May 6 the temporary injunction was dissolved, but the existing companies are likely to continue their legal fight before other courts.

On May 2 a resolution was introduced by the mayor at the meeting of the board of control, and was unanimously

**Expiring
Franchise.**

adopted. It takes the first steps for advertising for bidders offering the lowest rates of fare

on seven miles of the most valuable routes of the two old companies whose franchises expire, according to the city's claims, in 1904 and 1905. The reason given in the resolution for thus taking up the matter two and a half years

before the expiration of the franchise grants, was that it would necessarily take much time in granting the franchise, "safeguarding the property rights of the present owners, and providing for the acquisition of the present property in case the owners are not the successful bidders," and also that "there should be secured from the patrons of these lines immediately on the expiration of the present grants, the lowest fare obtainable by competitive biddings." The Mayor further publicly declared, as an additional reason for present action :

"The Legislature has not adjourned yet, and I want to serve due notice on the old companies of how we shall proceed. This will give them a chance to go to the legislature and pass some more rippers. They may be able to get a bill through the Legislature to take the franchise-giving right away from the City Council and give it to the Governor, Board of Remission, or some board of this nature. The people are not to be trusted in such matters, you know, and our Republican Legislature may decide that the right to give away the people's rights should be placed in the hands of good, true, honest men who can be trusted."

It is coming more and more to be recognized in Cleveland that the street railway agitation will grow hotter and hotter, until not only three-cent fares are secured on all the roads, but until the City has the right from the Legislature and from contracts with the companies, to purchase the property of the latter at a moderate advance over its structural value. This agitation will be studied with great interest in the light of the recent vote in Chicago, of over 5 to 1 in favor of public ownership of all the city monopolies, and in the light of the probability that as soon as the people can secure the opportunity to express themselves in effective legislation on the subject in all our large cities, reductions in charge under private management and preparations for public ownership and operation in the near future will become the order of the day.

A further significant fact in the franchise situation in Cleveland is the rapidly growing interest in civil service reform as Civil Service Reform. a means of entering upon municipal management. A new force is rallying about the purification of city government in order thereby to render possible the public assumption of these public necessities. An interesting evidence of this has appeared in the

Water Department, which is undergoing quite a transformation from the spoils system to a business administration, with general popular endorsement, and the transformation is being sustained by many who have hitherto been spoilsmen, because they see the necessary connection between efficient management and the further extension of public operation. In this connection may be quoted a recent letter of Mayor Johnson's, with respect to this department:

"It is especially important that a public service of this kind should be conducted along business rather than political lines, and there is no better recommendation for municipal ownership of other utilities than to show that the ones now operated are run in the interests of good service, with economical and efficient management."

Reference may also be made to the fact that the City Council has asked the Legislature to grant the City the right which it does not now possess of owning and operating various municipal monopolies, and in so doing has asked that a stringent civil service reform act be provided for such undertakings.

As evidence of the greater ease of reforming the spoils system under public than under private ownership, which has always been the contention of the writer, reference may be made in closing to the fact that while the powerful financial interests of the City and most of the daily papers have either opposed or been silent upon both the increase of taxation and the reduction of charges of the street railway and lighting companies, there has been almost universal endorsement by these same influential elements of society of the effort to put the Water Department upon a non-partisan business basis.

Among the general conclusions that may be drawn from recent history in Cleveland and elsewhere may be mentioned the following:

1. To secure rapid advance, there is needed an alert, aroused public opinion, and the readiness of some powerful personality to take the lead. There is call for as much energy, strength of purpose and ability to see things in a large way as is demanded of the head of a great railway system.
2. Much can be accomplished under existing laws, but, in the long run, the ever-active forces of monopoly will so change

the laws and control their interpretation as to compel municipal reformers to enter state politics in the interests of home rule.

3. Progress along these lines is likely to be more rapid in Ohio and further west than in the East, where the ownership of so-called vested interests is most centered, and, at the same time, diffused among the people, and hence is most able, even without direct corruption, to delay the solution of monopoly questions.

The provision of the new Cleveland franchise on some of the points above mentioned and with respect to limitation of the hours of labor to ten within the limits of fourteen within any twenty-four hours, and with respect to the compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, are herewith given:

SECTION 3. The right is hereby granted to the said grantee to erect the necessary lines of poles and wires to connect the necessary power-houses with said railroad system, and whatever the said route or routes provide for private right of way, he shall have the right to construct necessary curves into said private rights of way, and to lay said tracks, over and across any intervening streets.

SEC. 4. The rate of fare shall be three cents for each passenger, and tickets at the rate of three cents each, including the sale of five tickets for fifteen cents, shall be kept on sale on all cars at all times, and shall entitle the passenger to one continuous ride in the same general direction, and each passenger shall be entitled to one transfer ticket for passage to another line, at all points of intersection with other routes, if such transfer be necessary to enable him to continue to his destination. The city reserves the right to regulate issuance and use of transfers to carry out this provision, and also reserves the right from time to time to establish transfer points and require the exchange of free transfers at such points between the lines of the grantee hereof and other street railroad companies. Any child under six years of age, accompanied by a parent, guardian or other person paying fare, shall be carried free.

SEC. 5. Where said street railroad routes pass over streets already paved at the time of construction of the railroad, the said grantee shall not be required to pay the estimated value of sixteen feet of pavement for double track, and seven feet for single track, as required by Section 871 of the Revised Ordinances.

SEC. 6. Wherever the railways above authorized to be constructed are along streets not in the "free territory" so-called,

now occupied by other street railway tracks, the said grantee shall have the right to construct straddle tracks, under plans and specifications to be approved by the city engineer or board of control, said straddle tracks to be removed whenever the joint use of said tracks on said streets is obtained or established.

SEC. 7. Whenever any controversy arises between the grantee under this franchise and his employees, which interferes or threatens to interfere with the operation of the road, each side of the controversy shall appoint two persons as its representatives, who shall constitute a Board of Arbitration, whose actions shall be final. If said board fails to agree within three days, then the Mayor shall become the fifth member of the board and a majority vote of said board, consisting of five members, shall be final. No motorman or conductor shall work more than ten hours within the limits of fourteen hours in any twenty-four hours, except in case of emergency causing obstruction of traffic.

SEC. 8. The City reserves the right to purchase said street railroad with any additions or extensions, whenever it may have the power to do so, for such price and upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon between it and the owner thereof or upon their failure to so agree, then for such price and upon such terms as may be fixed by a Board of Arbitration consisting of three persons, a majority of whom shall decide all questions.

SEC. 9. In case of arbitration in the purchase of the said street railroad, the City shall give at least six months' written notice of its intention to so arbitrate, and shall name therein one arbitrator. The owner shall name in writing, within thirty days thereafter, one arbitrator. The two, within thirty days thereafter, shall agree upon the third arbitrator. On the failure on the part of the owner to name one arbitrator, or on failure of the two arbitrators to name the third, the Probate Judge of Cuyahoga county may name either or both, as the case may be, upon the application of the city. In case of the death or disability of any one of the arbitrators, his place shall be filled in the manner provided for the making of his appointment.

SEC. 10. The value of said street railroad shall be obtained as follows: The cost of reproduction shall be estimated, and from this shall be taken a reasonable amount for depreciation. All the physical property of every nature used in the operation of the railroad shall be included in the valuation. Separate, itemized schedules, with values shall be made under the following titles:

- I. Land.
- II. Power-houses, including buildings and machinery.
- III. All buildings except power-hous

IV. Tracks.

V. Street pavements to the extent paid for by the grantee.

VI. Rolling stock.

VII. Miscellaneous.

To this total valuation of the above items shall be added 10 per cent, but in arriving at the said valuation the franchise and privileges granted by the city shall not be estimated or paid for.

SEC. 11. The City reserves the right to decline to take the property at the valuation fixed by arbitration as above provided; but in case of such declination no demand to purchase shall be made by the City within a period of two years.

Whenever after ten years from the date hereof, the net earnings of said railroad exceed 8 per centum per annum on the actual bona-fide value of said road, equipment, extensions, etc., irrespective of the capitalization thereof, the owner shall pay one-half of said net earnings in excess of 8 per cent into the city treasury, whether said earnings are applied to interest payment, dividends, surplus, extensions or betterments. And for the purpose of ascertaining said value the same procedure shall obtain as provided in Section 10 hereof for purchase, unless the value shall be agreed upon between the parties.

SEC. 12. The City reserves the right to grant to any other party or parties the joint use of not to exceed 10 per cent of the length of any route herein described, on such terms as may be fixed by the Council, in case the parties do not agree; but no such grant shall be made to any party who shall charge a higher rate of fare than the grantee.

SEC. 13. In addition to the foregoing, the City of Cleveland reserves to itself the right to authorize any other individual, company or corporation to jointly occupy and use for street railroad purposes, the whole or any part of the tracks and appliances, wires and poles herein authorized to be constructed on Oregon street, between Oliver street and Erie street upon such terms and conditions as the City may deem just and reasonable, unless such individual company or corporation shall otherwise agree with the said grantee as to the terms of such use and occupation.

SEC. 14. If at the expiration of this franchise no extension or renewal thereof be granted by the City, and the City has not itself acquired the property, then any party to whom a franchise may be granted over the within routes and extensions thereof, shall have the right, and be under obligation to purchase said railroad under the terms providing for the purchase by the City as herein contained.

SEC. 15. The grantee herein shall make known the true state and condition of the financial affairs of said railroad, and

the director of accounts and authorized agents shall have the right and be afforded the privilege at any and all reasonable times to examine any and all books of account, lists of names of stockholders, showing their respective holdings, and shall be permitted to ascertain from said records and books the actual amount or amounts invested and the amount of capital stock issued, the cost of the property, liabilities, assets, profits and losses, income, expenses, and cost of betterments.

SEC. 16. Whenever the joint use of the tracks of any other street railroad company is herein provided for, or the construction of straddle tracks is authorized, the same shall include the right for the joint use of the curves, sidetracks, switches, connecting tracks, poles wire and power to the extent that the City of Cleveland is empowered to grant such joint use of the same.

SEC. 17. The said grantee shall pay his proper proportion of the maintenance and renewals of all tracks and pavements used or occupied by him and owned by the city.

SEC. 18. The construction and operation of the street railroad and the enjoyment of the privileges hereby granted, shall be subject to and governed by the general street railroad ordinances now in force, except as the same are herein modified, and shall be subject to the future ordinances and regulations of the council.

SEC. 19. The street railway tracks over the routes herein authorized to be constructed shall be built within six months after the date of the passage and legal publication of the within ordinance, and the same shall be equipped and operated within one year from said time, unless prevented by legal proceedings over which the grantee has no control, or unless the board of control shall extend the time.

NOTE.—Since the reading of the above paper events have followed one another thick and fast.

The Eighth District Circuit Court of Ohio, early in June, declared the franchise of the three-cent fare railway unconstitutional, on the following grounds:

1. That, while the City had called for bids for about seventy miles of road, it only granted a franchise for thirteen of those miles, although it had entered into some preliminary arrangements for a further grant.
2. That a change from one important street to another had been made for a short distance, because consents could not be readily secured on the first street.
3. The franchise had provided for the arbitration of labor

disputes and for the purchase of the road by the City at its arbitrated construction value, plus ten per cent. It was held that all of these conditions might, and possibly did, have a deterrent effect upon those who might otherwise have bid, and might have prevented the receipt of as low a bid as could otherwise have been secured; although no evidence on this point was presented to the court. The state law requires the granting of the franchise to the lowest bidder. Thus the absurd inconsistency appears of the street railway companies opposing the three-cent fare road because the bid was too low—i. e., that no road could live on three-cent charge—while the court declares the franchise unconstitutional because it might conceivably have stood in the way of a still lower bid! New ordinances, however, have been introduced in the City Council of Cleveland, providing for new bids in a way to obviate the objections of the court, and the former company is sure to renew its offer of three-cent fares.

The Supreme Court of the State handed down a decision during the last week in June which declares unconstitutional the entire charter of Cleveland, and indirectly that of nearly every municipal charter in the state, on the ground that these charters were obtained by special legislation, although the courts had hitherto sustained such charters for many years. Now that vested interests are being hurt by the use that is being made of the Cleveland charter, the unconstitutionality of the same is suddenly realized. The Governor of the state has announced his intention of calling a special session of the Legislature for arranging a new municipal code, and incidentally has called, for the preparation of a bill for that purpose, two of the leading attorneys for city monopolies and railroads of the state, one in Cincinnati and one in Cleveland. The people of Ohio, however, are becoming so much aroused that in the end good is likely to come from this decision of the Supreme Court.

A Non-Partisan Administration

By HON. EUGENE A. PHILBIN, New York
Former District Attorney of New York County

A partisan has been defined as "one whose judgment or perception is clouded by a prejudiced adherence to his party." In that sense my administration of the office of district attorney of the County of New York was non-partisan, and not from the point of view that I ceased to be a party man. I remained a Democrat, but felt that true loyalty to my party meant fidelity to the trust to be discharged.

When I assumed the office I understood that I had been appointed as a Democrat; in other words, that Governor Roosevelt would not have made the appointment if I had been a Republican, but would have selected some Democrat whom he believed would administer the office solely in the interest of the people. The reason for this was that the official whose removal made the appointment necessary was a Democrat, and the Governor, with that high regard for the will of the people that has always characterized him, felt that the appointee should be of the same political affiliations as the man elected to the office, and whom he had been compelled to remove. The action of Mr. Roosevelt in thus refraining from taking advantage of the occasion to give his party a most important and

Roosevelt's valuable public office, was greatly appreciated Appointment. by the people of New York, and I believe contributed not a little to the election of a Republican mayor a few months thereafter. Had he been guided by the short-sighted policy that the distribution of patronage was the only way to maintain a party, the Republican party would have enjoyed the control of the District Attorney's office for one year, but lost the opportunity of administering the affairs of the City of New York through the election of the present Republican Mayor, Mr. Low.

A further advantage was gained by the appointment of a Democrat, for public officials charged with crime were members of the Democratic party, and if a Republican had instituted proceedings against them his efforts would have been ascribed to political motives, and the moral effect, if not entirely lost, impaired. As it was, not even those prosecuted claimed that there was any political considerations involved in the proceedings against them. Nor has it come to my ears that it was claimed that any undue advantage was taken in enforcing the law under such circumstances.

A day or two after my appointment as District Attorney I received a letter from Mr. Roosevelt, in answer to a telegram from me thanking him for the appointment, in which he stated that he did not intend to say anything to me as to how the office should be administered, for he knew that I would be guided by a sincere consideration for the best interests of the people, and would act as I had done in relation to a then recent investigation of an institution which involved inquiry into the conduct of certain persons prominent in public life. That was the only communication I received from him during my term in relation to the office, and with the exception of one or two conversations a few days after my appointment, and in which no intimation or suggestion was made by him as to patronage, I never heard from him concerning the administration of the district attorney's office. I had evidence frequently presented to me showing the appeals made to him for employment in the office. Persons would show letters from Mr. Roosevelt to them stating that he had determined not to interfere in the slightest degree with my administration and therefore could not ask for the desired employment. I had the full responsibility of one free from all obligations and therefore could not plead party exigency for a bad appointment. Nothing prevented my treating the office as if it were my own private law office, and the City my personal client, and I endeavored to do so in the fullest sense.

The Democratic Organization. The City of New York had for nearly four years been in the absolute control of probably not more than four or five men—if indeed I might not say one man—at the head of the regular Dem-

ocratic organization. That these men were thoroughly corrupt, and enriching themselves at the city's expense, no one had any doubt. It therefore followed that no honest, civic-spirited Democrat could voluntarily identify himself with the regular organization while under such control and become nothing less than accomplice in crime. He was all the more loyal to his party because of his refusal to aid in its pollution.

The organization owed its strength to the fact that thousands of its members of years' standing were dependent upon it for their livelihood, and outside of public office would be totally unable to earn a living. These men, as a rule, had no desire to act improperly and were satisfied to perform their full duty if permitted by the leaders of their party. It is well enough for us who are independent of politics to be keen in our perception of right and wrong; but if we were without ability to live outside of politics, it is doubtful if our vision would be quite so clear.

In the endeavor to bring about municipal reform, the men filling subordinate offices need not be taken into consideration, for it will be found that with very rare exceptions they are satisfied to perform their full duty, and to receive no pecuniary advantage other than the compensation allowed by law. It is fortunate that this is so, because these men are, as a rule, irrevocably committed to public life, and while from time to time political reversals may remove them from office, yet the vast majority of them are certain to return at some time or other, and because of the expectation in that regard, never make effort to procure other employment.

The importance of this is realized when we consider that every election adds to this class by the placing in office of men who for the first time enter public life. This is particularly true where the successful body is not a regular political organization, but composed of citizens who are not professional politicians, in which event a greater number of persons who have not previously been dependent upon politics for their living are forevermore identified with the great army of office-holders and office-seekers.

For this reason, apart from all civil service considerations, it would seem to be clearly to the interests of the community

that the new head of a department should strive, so far as possible, to retain those already therein, and to try to get them to take a truer view of their duty to safeguard public interests. My own experience justifies me in believing that such a course will result in procuring better service, not only during the administration of such a department chief, but also after his term expires, for the reason that such subordinates are certain to spend their lives in public service, and therefore anything that tends to raise their standard is certainly conducive to the furtherance of public interests. It is also a fact that if such men were retained by the new administration they would not have the same selfish incentive to work for their party at the next election.

The organization was also supported by wealthy corporations, because the latter found that organized blackmail was easier to deal with and less likely to involve consequences to themselves than transactions with free-lances, whose individual demands would come unceasingly and whose discretion could not be relied upon.

Such corporations not only would have, from time to time, to seek protection from threatened legislation or unreasonable enforcement of the law, but also to obtain leave flagrantly to violate the law. This gives but a slight idea of how the organization obtained both men and money.

My predecessor in the District Attorney's office was a member of the organization, and his idea of the management of the office can be best conveyed by saying that his one claim upon fame was based upon a remark once made consigning reform to a place not referred to in polite society. He had been almost three years in office when he was removed, and its one hundred and twenty-five employees, with probably one or two exceptions, became connected with the department during his administration or that of his Tammany predecessors. They were all members of the organization, and thoroughly loyal to it. Under such circumstances it would seem that no one could hope to attack any corruption that existed in the public offices of the City held by men belonging to the organization without removing all the members of the latter in the District Attorney's office. But then, if that were done the places would have to be

filled with an equally large number of men who lacked experience, and among whom there would likely be some who, if not too weak to resist the many temptations offered, might be indiscreet. The problem was a serious and perplexing one and had to be solved speedily, for my term was only for one year, and the city expected great things. Again, civil service rules made it difficult, although I did not believe impossible, to remove all the employees. I finally decided to remove those

Reorganization of the Office. who, in my judgment, would seriously impede my work and place confidence in the remainder.

Although compelled to act quickly, my sentences of decapitation were invariably final, and no appeal from politicians or my personal friends could procure a revocation. Having reorganized the force, I sent for them and delivered an address. I told them that they would have my entire confidence until they forfeited it, in which event our relation would be severed immediately. We were as partners in a large enterprise, our relations containing the elements of mutual trust and agency, and only in so far as etiquette demanded was I on a different plane from them. We were all public servants, and that our respective good names were in each other's keeping. This was not a mere speech, and the men soon got to realize it, for our relations were very happy. When the day of parting came there was real regret unmarred by the recollection of a single unpleasant incident. Probably the most interesting feature of this phase of my administration was presented in the case of the so-called county detectives, but who were really merely subpoena-servers. These men, for the most part, had not had the advantages of education, and were mostly fitted for manual labor only. They were principally of the type called ward politicians, and from environments that regarded public office merely as means of obtaining an easy living. Such men had no higher ideal than blind devotion to the organization based not only on self-interest, but also upon a lifelong sentiment, almost as strong as their religion. There were thirty-five when I assumed office; I cut the force down to twenty-five. I told those retained, as I had told the rest of the office force, that I had nothing to do with their politics; that I supposed they were members of Tammany

Hall, and although I was opposed to that organization, I was not going to ask them to leave it as a condition of remaining. That I further supposed that they would continue to work for it, but that it was immaterial so long as their politics did not conflict with their public duty. They were greatly surprised and impressed. Perhaps you will put me down as a mere theorist, as did at the time many other students of municipal conditions, but my plan worked out with splendid results. These men were, during my administration, ideal public servants, and although I used them in attacking their organization, they never failed in the duty assigned. To-day I can say that there has not been a breath of suspicion against a single one of my subpoena-servers. My successor was only a short time in office when one of his men appointed in place of one of my force, who were mostly all removed, was dismissed for blackmailing.

The secret of it all is that these men were not dishonest by inclination, and if in the past they had done anything irregular it was because the pressure of gaining a livelihood was too strong to be resisted. I had no reason to believe that any one of them had ever done a dishonorable thing, and I did know that every man of them wanted to do right.

Of the many instances of loyalty to public duty of subpoena servers that occurred from time to time during my administration, I will refer to only one. Complaints were received regarding a house used for disorderly purposes in a section of the city of which a prominent and notorious member of Tammany Hall was the political leader. Desiring to make a careful investigation and preferring not to apply to the police, I selected one of my subpoena-servers to visit the premises. He owed his position to a large extent to the leader above referred to. The report made to me by this man was to the effect that the conditions were worse than the complaint indicated. I reminded him of his relations with the politicians in the locality, and suggested that if I used his testimony it might get him into trouble. He admitted that that was true, but also said that it made no difference,—that he was determined to do his duty while he remained in the office. Such a declaration was not

Loyalty

of Subordinates.

caused by any fear of removal if a different utterance were made, as he knew me too well not to appreciate that if he had appealed to me to get somebody else to perform the duty, I would not have felt any less friendly toward him, but would have appreciated his honesty.

If this was the case with the subpoena-servers, it of course goes without saying that the men of higher grade would be equally as loyal to duty. And here, again, I will refer to only one instance.

One of the Tammany lawyers on my professional staff was sent for by me one day and asked to undertake the prosecution of a certain case, which involved a relative of a very influential Tammany leader. The latter had great influence in the district in which my assistant resided, and upon which he relied for the maintenance of his political life. With the feeling that it was not fair to unduly tempt a man, I told him that if the prosecution of the case in question was going to seriously hurt him I would not ask him to undertake it, but would assign some other assistant. He said that he did not think such considerations ought to interfere with the performance of duty, and that he would undertake the matter. He later secured a conviction. As expected, it certainly did hurt him politically, and practically made it out of the question for him to hope for any political advancement while the leader in question remained in power, and yet he and his large family were dependent upon politics for a living.

It must not be inferred from these illustrations that I ever permitted the performance of my duty to be interfered with or embarrassed by consideration for my subordinates. On the contrary, I felt that they must be willing to make any sacrifice in the line of duty. On the other hand, I did not think that where public interests would be just as effectually subserved, that it was fair to call upon these men for unnecessary sacrifice, or that, from a practical point of view, such a course was calculated to inspire them with a greater devotion to the performance of duty.

It is safe to say that never, during the years of their public life, had my subordinates so much contentment and peace of mind. They were entirely free from appeals or demands by

politicians, and knew that they had only to have regard for the proper discharge of their official duty. Because of the constant personal supervision exercised by me, they could say to the politician that it would be impossible to comply with his requests that the law be evaded, because the matter would inevitably come to my knowledge. Not that that was the only thing that deterred my subordinates from disregarding duty, but that was the only answer it was practicable to make to the politician who would appeal to them, as he would not be apt to readily understand a public official finding gratification in simply discharging his sworn duty.

From one point of view there is no more satisfactory person to deal with than the practical politician. His familiarity with public affairs and with the vicissitudes of politics enables him to at once adapt himself to the circumstances, and nine times out of ten he bears no resentment for a denial if he is satisfied that you are not actuated by purely personal or political motives, but simply by a proper realization of your official obligation.

A very distinguished judge of New York City, who has been many years on the civil bench, and is able, therefore, from personal experience and an unusual opportunity for observation, to speak with authority, told me that his official experience with politicians was most satisfactory, that with the citizen who was above politics it was very common to make requests that involved nothing less than a violation of the judicial oath of office. They seemed to think that such a consideration should not be regarded except in the case of politicians or persons of humbler conditions of life.

I have had occasion more than once to proceed against politicians, even before I went into the District Attorney's office.

I found that there was a philosophical submission to the inevitable as represented by the law, and a prosecuting attorney whose appreciation of the obligations he had assumed precluded his permitting any circumstance to interfere with its proper discharge. It is not so with people in private life, particularly those of the higher classes. I found that it was quite immaterial that the crime committed was a serious one, or that the perpetrator had shown such a disposition as to render it

almost certain that he must always be an enemy of society, if he were a man of high social standing. The position was always taken that the former respectability of the defendant and the social advantages that he had enjoyed should satisfy the District Attorney that no criminal prosecution should be instituted, and that he was not to be treated as a person who came from humbler environments. The District Attorney was expected to realize the immeasurable gulf that separated the drawing-room from the jail, and therefore overlook the fact that society had been wronged, or that opportunity might be given for the perpetration of further wrongs, and waive the enforcement of the law.

The low standard of official duty in our municipalities is due more to the selfishness and cowardice of the upper classes than

The Low Standard of the Upper Classes. to any other cause. The substantial business man, particularly if he has large interests at stake, lives in mortal dread of offending the influential politician. Everyone who has engaged in reform work has often found that such men, while willing to contribute thousands of dollars to the movement, insist upon having their names withheld.

The corrupt politician has received constant encouragement in not only the respect with which he is treated, but also in applications for irregular favors. It is common for him to be treated by men of high standing as a social equal on those public and private occasions when they are brought together. He is appealed to when the law places it in his power to exact a duty, and asked to waive it, although perhaps if the citizen submitted to the law the inconvenience or expense would be comparatively trivial, and certainly so when compared to his civic duty.

I have known such citizens to bribe policemen to refrain from performing a duty, and at the same time join earnestly in a movement to attack police corruption. The relation of the two things was utterly overlooked. In trials affecting public officials it is always most difficult to get jurors because of the fear of persecution by the defendant's political associates. And yet the average politician is wholly without courage, and if convinced that the law will be determinedly invoked he will quickly surrender.

When the representative citizens shall stand shoulder to shoulder in maintaining the law no matter what the consequences may be, we shall have a higher standard of official duty, and not before. The first cost will be more than made up by reduction in taxation and freedom from blackmail. Let us not demand enforcement of the general law while we ourselves seek evasion.

The Red Light District.

When I assumed the office of District Attorney there was a feeling against the public officials arising because of conditions that existed in what was known as the "Red Light District," a certain section in the lower part of the city inhabited by about a hundred thousand persons living chiefly in tenement houses; in short, persons in humbler walks of life. While, of course, the majority of the people in the section were hard-working and thoroughly respectable, yet there had gradually crept into existence an unusual number of houses of prostitution, which advertised their nefarious trade by using red lights at night, and by having red glass in their windows during the day. What particularly aroused public sentiment was the fact that not only were young girls actually kidnapped for such purposes, but the vice was so open and notorious as to be almost at all times visible to the children of the neighborhood. The kidnapping was principally done by a low type of young men who were called "cadets." The use of the name has never been satisfactorily accounted for. These scoundrels would either go through a form of marriage ceremony, or actually marry the girl. Whether or not they had previously married several was quite immaterial, as there was little fear of the victims bringing the charge of bigamy. Then they would introduce the girl into a house of prostitution from which there was no escape. The clothes of the victim were removed and she was so guarded that she could not possibly leave. An appeal to the police was useless. Furthermore, it was shown that women of evil character plied their trade in tenement houses, so that it frequently happened that a respectable workingman's family would be exposed to the scandal of witnessing from their windows the grossest immorality in adjoining apartments. The community had evidence to sustain the belief that the political leaders, and even the police of the "Red Light District" were deriving profit from the existence of such places.

Of one thing there was absolutely no doubt, and that was that the conditions that thus existed could not continue for a moment if the police were sincerely determined to suppress them. If a police patrolman witnessed the most outrageous wrong in connection with any of these places, he literally dared not interfere, no matter how great his indignation might be, because the consequences of interference would have been most serious to him. The political leader or possibly his captain would have reported his conduct to headquarters, and he would be transferred to some rural section of the City, if not dismissed from the force upon trumped-up charges, supported by perjured testimony.

This condition, as to the police, was due to the thorough organization of Tammany Hall. The City of New York is divided into districts, each under the charge of a leader. This leader is held responsible for the result of the annual election in his district, and it therefore follows that in order that he may retain his leadership he should be supported by Tammany Hall. This means that the police shall not only not interfere with his constituents, but shall disregard their duty whenever the performance of it would tend to impair the strength of the district leader. When the District Attorney's office was under the control of a Tammany official, the district leader was able to gain and retain many adherents by his preventing criminal prosecution of citizens of his district. During my administration, in an interview with a Captain of Police of many years' standing, and who had a fair record, I said to him, "Captain, you know that the politicians control the police force to a large extent. Suppose that a patrolman in your precinct, seeing an assault, started to arrest the assailant, and a district leader would say to him, 'Don't arrest that man; let him go,' what would the patrolman do?" The captain answered, "Well, Mr. District Attorney, that would certainly be a very embarrassing situation."

The public sentiment had been aroused principally by the conditions in the "Red Light District." It was not doubted that some of the incumbents of the different municipal offices had been acting fraudulently, to the great pecuniary loss of the city, but there were no tangible facts tending to show such conditions, and the one distinguishing characteristic of the

average citizen of New York is that he is thoroughly practical, and must have some substantial evidence before he will be convinced. The "Red Light" situation, however, had been particularly called to the public attention by the treatment received by a clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Paddock, and his bishop, the Right Rev. Henry C. Potter, the former being a rector in the district. He had complained to the police of the flagrant violations of the law, and been very discourteously

Committee of Fifteen. treated by them. The public feeling became such that a Committee of Fifteen, so called,

came into existence. This committee was composed of citizens who had no political aspirations, but were actuated solely by a regard for the welfare of the city. It had as its chairman, William H. Baldwin, Jr., whose judicial sagacity and great perseverance made him a fitting leader for the movement. The committee spent thousands of dollars not only in procuring evidence against the most notorious of the places in the "Red Light District," but also of the different pool-rooms, gambling places and other violations of the law. A number of convictions followed as the result of their work, but the greatest substantial effect was the fear that was at once inspired in the police, and therefore a better performance of duty by them. The Tammany organization, in order to offset the effect, as far as possible, of the work of the Committee of Fifteen, appointed a Committee of Five, for a similar duty. This move was not unlike the action of the Tammany Mayor at the time of the famous Tweed scandal. As the charges seemed likely to involve him, besides other officials, the Mayor gravely instructed the corporation counsel to institute a proceeding in a court of equity to ascertain whether he and his colleagues owed the city any money. The public was too much in earnest, however, to be thus put off and the proceeding was never brought to court. The chairman of the Committee of Five, while a member of the Tammany organization, was a man of high character, and his good faith was never questioned. The other members of the committee had certainly never been conspicuous as champions for good government, and therefore did not possess any unusual degree of public confidence.

I assigned one of the ablest Assistant District Attorneys to the committees with instructions to give the Tammany body as much consideration as the other. The former did in good faith make efforts to secure evidence as to pool-rooms, or, in other words, places where betting on horse-races occurred, the information as to the events being received by means of telephones. It made similar efforts as to gambling houses. Proceedings were instituted in relation to some of its cases. Evidence of such violation of the law is always difficult to obtain, as practically the only way is to employ private detectives to gain access and take part in the betting or playing. In many of the places experienced doorkeepers are in charge and, as a rule, admit no one not known to them or vouched for. When evidence was thus obtained a warrant would be procured, and then a raid made. The latter requires considerable planning to be successful. The place usually has means for hurried exit in contemplation of a raid, and of course they must be covered before attack. Furthermore, the police must have no suspicion of the intention, or else warning will be given by them.

I made but one raid while District Attorney, and only did so for the purpose of showing the police that their pretension that such things could not be done was without justification. It was very successful, and a very important Tammany leader was caught in the pool-room. He accounted for his presence by saying he had been looking for a wayward son. I fear he will never hear the last of that wayward son story.

The activities of the Committee of Five practically ceased after this raid, and this was probably because those associated with the chairman of the committee and the other members of the Tammany organization had not previously believed that any serious consequence would have resulted from its efforts. When, however, an important leader of the organization was caught, under the circumstances above described, and evidence against the police was so clearly obtained, a different aspect was put upon the matter, and it was found inadvisable to continue operations. The Committee of Fifteen then placed at the disposal of the District Attorney such evidence as it had accumulated, and a series of raids followed, and continued until the

community, always looking for new sensations, lost interest in such proceedings. Furthermore, the Committee of Fifteen had done sufficient to show the neglect of the police, and that was really its principal object.

Shortly after I went into office, Chief of Police Devery called upon me. At that time the police department was governed by four Commissioners, who were, a few weeks **Chief Devery.** later, replaced by a single Commissioner, under a change in the law. I told the Chief that in my judgment the crusades against vice which were being made by the two committees above referred to, and the feeling that existed in the community, were caused not so much by a belief that it was possible for New York city to have no violations of the law occur, as by the impression that the police had become wholly unworthy of confidence,—that this aspect of the matter was clearly shown by the suggestion that if the police were performing their duty there would be no occasion for the coming into existence of the two committees. I further told him that all my efforts would be directed accordingly, and that it might be my duty to indict him if sufficient evidence should be presented, and if so, there would be no hesitation in my so acting. The Chief did not appear to be at all offended at my view of the situation, and the only indication of the impression made was that, whereas, when we met he shook hands with me, on parting he made no effort to go through that ceremony.

Devery became so conspicuous a figure in the recent campaign, in which Mr. Low was elected Mayor, that it would not be out of the way to make some special reference to him. If he had been influenced solely by a desire to perform his full duty in a truly conscientious manner, no better head of the Police Department could be imagined. He was thoroughly acquainted with all matters pertaining to police business, except possibly detective work, and it was simply impossible for a member of the force to impose upon him. The one solitary advantage, out of the great many disadvantages, had by the community while he was Chief of Police, was that there was a man in authority whom no member of the force dared disobey, and thus formal discipline at least was maintained.

This power was due not only to his strenuous way of enforc-

ing his orders, but also to the fact that he had the political backing of Tammany Hall, and could carry out almost any design that he might have affecting a policeman.

My experience with the department when it was controlled by four Commissioners was so brief that it is not necessary

The Police. to further allude to it. The Commissioner of

Police during almost all my term of office was a man against whom I had had a very strong prejudice, because of reports that I had heard for years tending to show that he was corrupt. I determined, however, to put aside all prejudice, assume that he was an honest and faithful public official, and treat him accordingly. This policy resulted in great success in my relations with the department, and caused Devery much embarrassment and discomfort. The Commissioner had never had anything to do with police matters, although he had held other important municipal offices, and the appointing powers no doubt felt that he would simply permit Devery to run the department, and he himself act as a mere figurehead. It may be that the Commissioner would have fulfilled their expectations had it not been for my relations with him.

I have already referred to the danger of warnings being given by the police when attempts were made to raid places where violations of the law were occurring. Under these circumstances it had been considered simply suicidal to use only the police in making such raids. My relations with the Commissioner, however, became such that I was able to procure police for the societies making such attacks. I told the Commissioner that I had been credibly informed that when he gave orders to the policeman, the latter on leaving his office would be immediately approached by some superior officer of the department, who was in league with the corrupt element, and asked as to his instructions. He was then given new orders which either wholly nullified or modified the instructions given by the Commissioner. The latter had probably had reason to believe that such was the case, for he did not appear surprised at the suggestion. The policeman under such circumstances would be too well acquainted with the condition of affairs not to realize that any attempt on his part to inform the Commissioner would result in great injury to himself. The Commissioner of course would not have any

positive reason to believe that an attempt had not been made in good faith to execute the orders given by him. He was surrounded by superior officers of the department, who had been placed in their respective positions through influence of men very high in the Tammany organization, and it was really impossible for him to deprive these men of the desirable positions they so held. There was, in short, to use a word coined many years ago, during an investigation into corrupt municipal conditions, a "combine" for unlawful revenue, and all efforts of the commissioner to do anything that would interfere with its profit were, of course, inevitably thwarted. The failure to have better conditions in the police department was not due to the law of the state or the rules and regulations of the police department, for they were sufficient to procure its satisfactory administration, and there was very little improvement that could be made in that regard. The great efficiency of the London police cannot be attributed to the provisions of the law as to the service, but rather to the fact that politics has absolutely no influence in the administration. The London Commissioner of Police is appointed by the Crown practically for life, and the Assistant commissioner also. Both of the present incumbents are men of high education who have had the advantage of intercourse with those who are constantly engaged in either the study of governmental theories or the administration of affairs of importance. The entire absence of such a foreign influence as politics causes the existence of an *esprit de corps* that will not tolerate anything that tends to smirch the uniform. Indeed it might be said that there is nothing less than a professional pride, even in the men of the lowest rank. If there is the slightest imputation cast upon a member of the police force, the balance of the department is not satisfied until the accused has been vindicated, or, if guilty, removed. In New York City the conditions are entirely different. The Commissioner of Police owes his appointment to his claim upon the political party of which he is a member, and of course such a claim must be based upon valuable services. His term of office is for two years only, and he is hardly seated before he must face the prospect of finding a means of livelihood at the conclusion of his term. It is very unusual if he does not aspire to promotion by obtaining an office

of higher rank. Realizing that the incumbent must be human, it is hardly to be expected that he would be able to fully resist all **Captains of Police.** appeals that might be made to him by influential politicians. This is the most favorable view to take of the influences that are apt to guide a commissioner in the performance of his duty. There have, however, prior to the present administration, been charges made that the commissioners have derived large profits from the payments by policemen for promotion to captaincies or lesser ranks. That such charges have been well founded, no one familiar with the history of New York City has any doubt, and it is quite certain that thousands of dollars have been paid for a single promotion. The captain of a precinct which frequently numbers over a hundred thousand inhabitants, possesses a power that is almost autocratic. He is treated with respect by the business men of the highest standing in his district, and there is very little that he may desire that is not willingly and immediately given to him. He has a certain social position, and has almost invariably substantial evidence of wealth, such as real estate or valuable personal property. The citizens of New York are of too considerate and courteous a nature to be indelicate enough to ask for an explanation as to how a captain of police, who has for say ten years been receiving a salary of \$2,750 per annum, out of which he probably has to support a large family, can be worth from fifty to one hundred thousand dollars. There is little doubt were such an explanation asked, considerable embarrassment would be caused almost all of these officials.

As another indication of the possibilities of the office of police captain, I will say that I was reliably informed during my administration that a certain police captain was receiving from places where the law was violated over three thousand dollars per month, in other words, nearly three hundred dollars each month in excess of his annual salary. Not a great while ago a police captain showed great zeal and energy in suppressing various places where the law was being violated, and won the admiration and approval of the community. A resident of his precinct informed me, however, that the captain's crusade was directed only against the customers, so to call them, of his

predecessor, and that he was establishing his own trade or patronage.

It is safe to say that New York City has never had a thorough business-like administration of the police department. In the years past the existence of a board of four commissioners, representatives of the two great parties, made compromises frequently necessary, and it is doubtful if at any time such a body had four men who were all unselfishly devoted to public interests. Under such conditions it is nothing less than remarkable that the police force of to-day is even as efficient as it is.

An opportunity is given to the present head of the police department to put it in a better condition than it has ever known, and there is reason to believe that before his term of office has expired he will have accomplished that result. He has, in the hundreds of honest patrolmen on the force, a nucleus for a capable and faithful body. While it is true that there are among the patrolmen some vicious and wholly dishonest men, yet the average man will readily respond to the demands of discipline, and give good and efficient service.

It was expected when I took office that investigations through the grand jury would be at once instituted as to *Investigation of* the various municipal departments, and when *Departments.* month after month passed without any such

proceeding being taken, there was a feeling that I was neglecting the opportunities my position presented. Intimations to this effect came to me constantly from those who were sincerely and unselfishly interested in municipal reform, and attacks even were made upon me by the newspapers. I made no attempted explanations or defense, but simply adhered to the policy that I had adopted, after careful study. This was that nothing could be more fatal to the removal from office of the then present administration by the election to take place within the following few months than by conducting investigations when there was good reasons to believe they would fail to adduce facts sufficient to justify a criminal proceeding. Such a failure would have been considered a vindication. The omission to take any action, therefore, did not impair the unfavorable and no doubt just impres-

sion that the community had, and when the time for election came, the belief in the necessity for having a change of government was in no wise modified. My brief experience in the District Attorney's office has satisfied me that there is no reason why the people of a municipality should submit to misgovernment. While I believe that government by the people ends with the election of their representatives, in the same way that the appointment of a trustee of an estate places upon him the sole responsibility for its management, yet it is also my conviction that a citizen has always the right to call an official to account for neglect of duty. In other words, the government of the people and for the people means that an official must not rely upon the community for guidance and advice in relation to the discharge of his duties, but must assume the full responsibility therefor. It stands to reason that any other course would be inadvisable, for it is clearly impossible for the citizen to be in the same position to judge of the best policy as the official who is conducting a department; and nine times out of ten the latter will find that eventually his judgment will be approved, although it might have been subjected to very severe criticism in the beginning.

While the penalty for neglect of an official duty is not a very serious one, yet there is little doubt that public officials

Neglect of Duty. would be deterred from improper conduct by the fear of a conviction for crime. Where, for example, the community had reason to believe that the incumbent of an office had been guilty of bribery or defalcation, and if, as so frequently happens, there was not sufficient evidence to sustain so serious a charge, it is very unlikely that the charge of neglect of duty could not be proven. There at least would be the gratification of removal from office and some imprisonment gained. The sections of the penal code of New York do not furnish the only provisions of law for the prosecution of the charge of neglect of official duty, but the common law will sustain such an action. One of the first things I did as district attorney was to have a very capable and learned assistant, Howard S. Gans, make a careful and thorough study of the law in relation to this matter. He prepared an excellent and exhaustive brief, and it was

found that as far back as the time of Queen Anne prosecutions on such a theory were successfully instituted.

In the reign of Elizabeth it was held that an indictment would lie against a constable by reason of his failure to raise "hue and cry" at night immediately upon receiving notice of a burglary just committed, though his refusal was based and defended upon the ground that there was no provision of law which required him to raise "hue and cry" at night. (Crouthers Case, II Crokes Repts. Elizabeth 654.)

The following from Wharton's Criminal Law, Sec. 1582, is a very clear exposition of the principles involved:

"If an officer enjoying the emoluments of office and wielding its occasional vast powers should be able to plead in defense of negligence that he mistook either the law or the fact, not only is there no negligence that could be punished, but negligence and incompetence would be the masks under which all sorts of official conduct would be sheltered. For municipal trusts, for instance, to prosper triumphantly it would only be necessary to secure officers conveniently ignorant and inert. But this the policy of the law does not permit. It says, 'You are bound to know the law and the facts, and if you lean on advisers or subalterns who mislead you, this is the very thing for which you are to be punished.' It is necessary for the state that it should have at its command knowledge and vigilance in the guardians of its liberties and its treasurers. In those holding public office want of either knowledge or vigilance resulting in negligence is a penal offense."

Two policemen, one a captain, were convicted of neglect of duty during my administration. In both cases the jury was expressly charged that there was no evidence tending to show that the defendant had derived any personal profit or advantage from the neglect. The jury, however, was not lacking in common sense. The captain's case was appealed, but the conviction was affirmed.

As District Attorney it became my duty to proceed against the Fire Commissioner of the City of New York, a man who was very prominent in Tammany Hall, if not one of its controlling parties. The first indictment was set aside owing to a technical question, namely, that the lawyer who presented the case to

the grand jury was not a sworn assistant of the District Attorney, although he had been retained as special counsel, and had taken the usual oath of office as a member of the bar. It became necessary, therefore, to submit the case to another grand jury, and an indictment was found. Friends of the Commissioner called upon me in relation to the matter, but being politicians realized the futility of making any appeal, and simply asked that he be given an opportunity to appear before the grand jury, and also to produce some witnesses. Realizing that the most substantial and effective impression would be made if an indictment was found after the defendant had had every opportunity, I advised the grand jury to grant the request, and I think that the testimony of the Commissioner did more to procure his indictment than that of the other witnesses. I was afterwards told by friends of the Commissioner that they greatly appreciated the fairness that had been shown, and realized that under the circumstances no other result could have been obtained. They claimed, however, that while he might have technically violated the law, there was no intention on his part to do so, and absolutely no personal benefit derived by him. The charge, briefly described, was in relation to the purchase of supplies for the fire department, and the allegation was that it was impossible for dealers in fire engines, hose and other items to sell goods to the department unless they employed a certain agent, who, by the way, was also indicted. The formal accusations charged the Commissioner and the agent with conspiracy, and the former with neglect of duty also, and were based upon the penal code (Sections 117-154-168).

Notwithstanding the fact that lawyers of very great ability and experience in criminal practice have attacked these indictments with great energy and skill, the indictments have been sustained, and the defendants are now awaiting trial.

It has no doubt occurred to many that it was extraordinary that the City of New York, being in the control of an organization controlled by men believed to be thoroughly corrupt, had not more municipal scandals, and indeed I believe that the Tammany organization points to this fact with virtuous pride. All this is easily accounted for, however, by the realization of the fact that there are organizations in the City of New York,

such as the Chamber of Commerce, the City Club, and like bodies, that are ever on the alert to detect municipal fraud. They can command the services of the most prominent and able lawyers in the city, many of whom are members of the different reform bodies, and ready to give their services when necessary solely for the city's good, and without any compensation. The existence and power of such organizations is too well appreciated by the average public official to permit him to go too far, for he is generally prudent, if not virtuous, and appreciates the necessity of "pandering to the better element."

In recent years revenue by corrupt officials over and above the compensation allowed by law has been derived in an almost

Municipal Contracts. legal manner. This has been to so arrange it that no important municipal contract could be

obtained unless the contractor was willing to give a portion of his profits to the political powers that be. Thus, some years ago, a contract for the alteration of the motive power of a large railroad in the City of New York was awarded to a man who was a thoroughly competent contractor, and one of the leaders in that business in the city. Notwithstanding the fact that he was a member of the Tammany organization, orders were given by the latter that the contract be awarded to another man, and the railroad company was obliged to cancel its arrangement with the first contractor and award the contract to the man selected by the politicians. If it had refused to do so the work would have been constantly interfered with by a rigorous and unreasonable enforcement of the law, and it would have cost the company thousands of dollars in excess of the amount necessary to complete the work, besides the loss that would be suffered because of great delay. If every word that was said or written in relation to that transaction were placed before the court, it would have been impossible, no doubt, to have procured an indictment. The situation is so thoroughly understood that there is no necessity for making threats or pointing out the consequences of failure to comply with such demands. Probably the matter referred to was carried through by a representative of the politicians going to the railroad company and saying that the leader of the organization would regard it as a very great favor to him if the contract was

taken away from the first man and given to his friend. There would certainly be nothing criminal in that, and that was all that would have been necessary to have been said in view of the knowledge that the company had as to the conditions that existed. Many years ago the Barber Asphalt Company was practically the only company that laid asphalt pavements in the City of New York, and held such a monopoly for years. Other companies during that time attempted to get contracts, but were almost always unsuccessful, although they were willing to demonstrate that the material to be furnished was of as good a quality as that supplied by the Barber Asphalt Company and to give such guarantee as might be demanded for the proper performance of the work. I do not know that the persons in office received any benefit from this state of affairs, but I certainly feel justified in suggesting that it was within the power of the Asphalt Company and the officials to make an arrangement by which the latter would receive a very substantial percentage of the profit made by the former. Be that as it may, one thing is quite clear, and that is that when in 1895 the reform administration, under Mayor Strong, succeeded the Tammany administration, real competition with regard to asphalt pavement was introduced, and prices reduced nearly one-half.

My experience has taught me that municipal conditions will be improved and public interests advanced so far as administration is concerned by the non-partisan administration of a partisan. In other words, a man who is sincerely and intelligently loyal to his party will not allow anything to prevent a faithful discharge of the trust, but will be absolutely impartial in the performance of the duty. And, to go a step further, such loyalty should involve a preference for his own party in making appointments where public interests will not be promoted by another course. The incumbent's own sense of rectitude should be strengthened by a desire to properly represent his party. No man in the performance of his duty to the community can really be disloyal to his party, although he may offend those who control it. Permanent beneficial results can only be obtained by reformation of the political organizations, for public offices must always be filled by their adherents.

Massachusetts Charter Legislation

By JOSEPH H. BEALE
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In order to understand the nature of the Massachusetts city it will be necessary, first, to consider briefly the nature of the town from which the city grew. The Massachusetts towns were municipal corporations, many of them not chartered by the general court, but deriving their capacities from prescription. They were, however, subject in every particular to the general court of the colony, province and state. The paramount power of the state legislature is not often in evidence; in ordinary cases statutory changes in the powers of particular towns are not made without the consent of the inhabitants, and especially the substitution of a city government for the town government is always submitted to the vote of the town. But not infrequently statutes are passed which profoundly affect the local government of a town not only without its consent, but even against its protest.

The government of a Massachusetts town is simple, and its powers broad. The town in its corporate capacity meets in town-meeting, which is a general meeting of all voters in the town. This meeting passes by-laws (subject, however, to the approval formerly of the "general sessions" of the county; now of a judge of the superior court of the state); it makes appropriations for specific objects, determines general questions of policy and elects the town officers. The carrying out of the votes and in general the details of administration are committed to the town officers, the most important of whom are the selectmen and the school committee. Through its officers the town levies and collects taxes, maintains schools, highways and almshouses, and preserves the peace. The general oversight of town affairs is in the selectmen, who are the executive officers

of the town. In short, the town is, generally speaking, the organ of all local government, with two important exceptions: the entire judiciary is in the hands of the state, and the maintenance of the principal highways and bridges, and of the court-houses, jails and registries of deeds and of probate is in the hands of the county.

Until the year 1820, when express authority was given in the Constitution, it was generally believed that no power existed in the state to charter a city. No city had ever been created within the territory of Massachusetts (except in Maine during the brief proprietorship of Gorges). In many of the colonies city corporations had been created on the model of the English cities and boroughs, either by the King or by the proprietors, and after the revolution Connecticut granted city charters with so free a hand that a Connecticut city had become a laughing stock. The Town of Boston had long outgrown the democratic town government. Among the 40,000 inhabitants were 7,000 legal voters; it was impossible that all should meet in one place even to vote, and debate was out of the question. Town-meetings were held every week or two. Most of the meetings were attended by the town officers and by fifteen or twenty other citizens, who formed a sort of self-appointed committee of government. In the rare cases where a subject of general interest came up, Fanueil Hall was packed, chiefly by the roughs of the North End; and no one whose words did not please them was allowed to speak.

At this time the town was governed by a board of nine selectmen, one of whom, the chairman, was in charge of the police; it elected also overseers of the poor and school committee, and for certain administrative purposes was divided into twelve wards. *Boston's Government.* Agitation for the establishment of a city government had begun very early in its history, and had become important soon after the Revolution. In 1784 a committee was appointed in town-meeting which proposed alternative schemes. The first provided for a mayor, aldermen and common councilmen, the second for a large board of selectmen, with a president. Both schemes were rejected by a large majority. In 1804, by a vote of the town, a convention was held, consisting

of two delegates from each of the twelve wards. This convention framed a proposal for a municipal government, the chief features of which were as follows: A general council was to be elected, consisting of the selectmen and two delegates from each ward. This council was to have general control of town affairs. The council was to choose an "Intendant," to be the executive officer of the selectmen, performing the functions then exercised by the chairman. This report was defeated by a considerable majority. In 1815 another committee was appointed which made an elaborate report, proposing a form of government not very different from that proposed in 1804. The division of powers was, the committee said, one of their chief cares. They refused to approve the example of most cities in combining in the mayor judicial with executive functions. They proposed that the executive function (which to them apparently meant merely the execution of law through the police, that is, the function of the chairman of the selectmen) should be in the hands of an "intendant," a name, they said, taken from a similar officer in Charleston, who should have entire control of the appointment and operation of the police force. The committee proposed that this officer should be elected by a convention of all the city officers rather than by the people. The legislative function (which meant to them all the operations of government outside the courts and the policing of the town) was to be in the hands of the municipal council, consisting of the selectmen and the two delegates from each ward. It is remarkable how little the real constitution of the town would have been changed by this plan. In the place of the chairman of selectmen was an intendant, elected by all the city officers instead of by the selectmen merely; in place of the self-appointed committee which attended town-meetings, a committee of two from each ward was to be joined to the selectmen to transact ordinary business of the town. The powers of these bodies were unchanged. The scheme was defeated by a majority of only thirty-one in a rather light vote. In 1821 another committee was appointed by the town, which reported an almost identical plan. The town-meeting, however, re-committed the report, enlarged the committee and instructed them to report a plan for a real city government. This enlarged

committee drew up a plan for a charter in which the government consisted of an intendant, a board of selectmen and a board of assistants. The town-meeting, after long debating, amended this report, substituting the names mayor, aldermen and common councilmen and, thus amended, adopted the report. In deference to the prejudices of those conservative citizens who wished to retain the town-meeting, a provision was inserted (which still appears in most of the Massachusetts city charters, but so far as I know is never made use of) that a town-meeting of the inhabitants might be held upon the call of fifty citizens "to consult upon the common good, to give instructions to their representatives and to take all lawful measures to obtain a redress of any grievances." The meeting, however, voted down a proposition to elect representatives in a general meeting of all inhabitants.

The principal provisions of this charter were the following: the elective officers were mayor, eight aldermen, elected at large, and forty-eight councilmen, elected by wards, school committee, overseers of the poor and fire-wards. Other city officers were appointed by the mayor, with the approval of the aldermen. The mayor and aldermen together formed a single body, the mayor being the presiding officer and having in general the functions of the chairman of the selectmen. The mayor and aldermen together exercised the power of selectmen; the city council exercised the powers of the town. As was

Proposed Charters. pointed out in connection with the similar proposed charter of 1804, this merely continued in existence the existing municipal corporation, with the single important difference that for the general town-meeting was substituted the meeting of a representative body, the city council. The powers of the selectmen and their chairman were continued unchanged in the board of aldermen and mayor. The powers of the town were continued unchanged in the city council. The organization was directly evolved from the town organization with its town-meeting and its board of selectmen—an indigenous form of city government, not derived from an English or any other model. It is also to be noticed that it was regarded, not as the formation of a business corporation, but as a distinctly political corporation,

exercising powers of government. The contemporary feeling is well shown by an editorial in the "Columbian Centinel": "The Commonwealth is to be congratulated that their Legislature have at length had the wisdom to establish a form of city government in Massachusetts which contains many improvements on all city institutions in the union, and particularly that in it the great powers have been kept distinct and independent. The legislative department is debarred from ever exercising executive or judicial powers, . . . thereby, in the language of our constitution, making it a government of laws and not of men."

It is instructive to compare the constitution here proposed with the form of city government adopted in Connecticut. An examination of the charter of New Haven, adopted in January, 1784, shows the striking differences. The City of New Haven was not the continuance of the Town of New Haven under another form; it was an additional government set up in a part of the territory of the town, the town retaining its old functions. The city met in a body to elect officers, to levy taxes, and to approve by-laws presented by the city council. Besides a clerk and treasurer, the officers elected were a mayor, four aldermen, a common council and two sheriffs. The mayor and aldermen were judicial officers, the judges of the city court, the mayor holding office during the pleasure of the general assembly (like the state judges), the other officers elected annually. The city council had a limited legislative function—it could pass by-laws, subject to approval by vote of the whole city, and to veto if unreasonable by the state courts—and a narrow executive function, chiefly to lay out highways. The "Columbian Centinel" was right in contrasting the Boston charter with such a one as that of New Haven. The chief function of the Connecticut city was judicial, but at the same time the mayor and aldermen exercised executive and legislative powers as well as judicial.

The recommended charter for Boston was accompanied by a plan for a municipal court. The Constitution of Massachusetts requires all judicial officers to be appointed by the Governor. Boston and the Massachusetts cities, therefore, unlike most early cities, had no control over the judiciary.

This report, after adoption by the town, was presented to the General Court and a bill was at once framed for carrying the recommendations into effect. It passed the House without much discussion, but in the Senate two amendments were proposed. First, the proposition already voted down in town-meeting that state and national officers should be elected by general vote of the citizens was revived. This was supported by those conservative citizens (Josiah Quincy among them) who regarded the town-meeting as a panacea for all political ills. The Senate finally decided to leave to the entire body of citizens the question whether these elections should be in a general town-meeting or by ward-meetings. The House agreed to the amendment, and, the question being left to the citizens, it was again voted that elections should be in ward-meetings. The second amendment proposed provided that the charter as passed should not be altered without the consent of the inhabitants. This amendment was strongly supported by senators from the County of Suffolk, but was finally voted down by a narrow margin. The rejection of this amendment caused considerable excitement in the town, and many persons opposed the acceptance of the charter because of it. It was argued, however, that although such power in the Legislature might theoretically be abused, in point of fact it would probably never be exercised; and that it would be foolish to reject a charter which contained so many valuable features merely because of the omission of this single desirable provision. The charter was accepted by the town by a vote of approximately twenty-eight hundred to nineteen hundred.

No further charters were issued until 1836, when Salem and Lowell were made cities. Their charters were almost precisely like that of Boston, the chief advance *Salem and Lowell Charters.* being in the power of the mayor, who, it was explicitly said, "was the chief executive officer of the said city." "It shall be his duty to be vigilant and active in causing the laws and requirements of the city to be executed and enforced, to exercise a general supervision over the conduct of all subordinate officers, and to cause every violation or neglect of duty to be punished." This slight change in form, however, indicated the beginning of a

very fundamental constitutional change. The mayor was acquiring power at the expense of the aldermen. Mayor Quincy, the first great Massachusetts mayor, had established the independence of the mayor in two directions; he had in most matters obtained sole executive power, and he had large initiative in legislation. As the mayor's independent powers increased the aldermen tended to fall back and become merely an upper chamber of the city legislature. This is the chief constitutional change in Massachusetts city government since the Revolution. As now organized, the mayor is the executive officer and the aldermen and common council (if indeed they remain separate bodies) are the city legislature. The aldermen usually retain one executive function, that of passing upon the appointments and removals of the mayor.

In form, subsequent city charters in Massachusetts have varied little from the Salem model. It might fairly be said that no important deviation from it has been made until within the last ten years.

The fears of the opponents of the Boston city charter, that the Legislature would alter and amend it without the consent of the citizens, remained a vain fear for half a century; but in 1875, for the first time in the case of Boston, and probably of any city, the Legislature made a radical change in the city charter, without either previously obtaining the consent of the city or submitting the change to a vote of the citizens. This change gave the mayor power at the expense of the city council. Many subsequent changes of vital importance have been made by the Legislature without the consent, and even against the protests, of a majority of the citizens. The method of election of aldermen in Boston, for instance, has been several times altered obviously and admitted for partisan purposes, with the object of securing to the party which controlled the State, but was in the minority in the city, an undeserved control of the Board. To take one instance, the Republican majority in the Legislature has recently changed the method of election from an election of twelve aldermen at large to an election by districts; then to an election at large, with minority representation; then again to an election by districts. In each case the new method, having failed to secure a Republican majority in the Board,

has been abandoned after a year or two for a newer one. The Police Commission. management of the police, the most important executive power of the government, has been taken out of the hands of the City of Boston and put in the hands of a State Commission appointed by the Governor, though the city has been graciously allowed to pay the salaries of police and commissioners; similar State Commissions have been given control of the parks, the water-supply and the sewers of parts of Boston and its suburbs. In all these cases, while the State through its commissions carries on the work of local government, the city pays the bills. The tendency to such legislation is increasing, and it may now be fairly said that how far the Legislature of the State shall interfere in the local affairs of the city depends in practice, as well as in law, merely upon the will of the Legislature. This appears to have come about without any decided objection on the part of the great majority not merely of the people of the state but even of the citizens themselves. It seems to have been felt, on the whole, that the State Legislature could be trusted with such matters quite as safely as the city government. The Boston police is more efficient than before, it costs the citizens no more than before, and there is no apparent disposition to replace it within the control of the city government.

In the last few years, since the study of our city governments has been carefully made and new solutions have been suggested, considerable changes have been made. Particularly in the years 1892 to 1894 numerous charters were revised and several new cities created, and the charters of this period afford interesting subjects of study.

1. MODERN CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES.—The attention of the Legislature has in the first place been directed to the constitution of the cities and of their various departments.

The Mayor.—No change has been suggested in the method of electing the Mayor; he is everywhere elected by a plurality of the voters of the city. In Boston and in one or two of the smaller cities his term of office is two years; elsewhere it remains one year.

Few traces remain of his original position as mere executive

head of the board of aldermen. In Lowell and in a few of the smaller cities he is still the presiding member **The Mayor.** of the board, and the powers of the selectmen remain with the mayor and aldermen; and in almost every city his appointments are subject to confirmation and his removals to disapproval by the board. But in most cities he is entirely independent of them, the chief executive officer of the city; and in Cambridge it is expressly provided that he shall exercise all executive powers which were formerly in the mayor and aldermen. In almost every city he has a veto upon the acts of the city council.

City Council.—In almost all the cities the city council still consists of two boards; in a few of the smaller cities, however, there is only one board, elected in part at large and in part from the wards. In several cities the term of office is for two or three years, part of the board retiring each year. Minority representation is provided for in a few cities by the device of allowing each voter to vote for a part only of the whole number to be elected. This system prevails, for instance, in Worcester, where the voters were required by the Legislature to choose between this system and the ordinary method of election, and they chose minority representation.

City Council. In Boston, as has been said, this system was in force for a few years, but was then abandoned, with few to lament it. In Gloucester the president of the board is elected by the people; he presides and appoints committees, but votes only in the case of a tie—in fact, he has precisely the legal function of the first Massachusetts mayors. In Medford, while the members of the common council are elected by the wards, they may be elected “from the qualified voters of the entire city.”

In several of the cities the head of a department may be called upon by the city council for information as to the affairs of his department; in that case he has a right to speak in the meeting. A number of cities go further and provide that certain heads of departments and a representative of the school committee shall be entitled to seats in the council, each with a right to speak upon matters concerning his department, but with no vote.

Departments.—Most of the narrower functions of the early city governments could be performed without much difficulty by the mayor and city council. But as city life became more complex, and the duties imposed upon the city more varied, new methods had to be devised of carrying on the work. A few departments had a separate organization from the beginning.

Departments. Thus in the first Boston charter a school committee, a board of overseers of the poor and fire-wards were chosen by the people, and in every city this continues to be true of the school committee. When, in the course of time, the activities of the city expanded so that it became a great business corporation as well as the organ of local government, the extent of business outgrew the powers of the mayor and aldermen. Then new departments were organized, usually upon a similar plan; a single chief or a board was placed at the head. These departments multiplied, until they became too numerous for effective service. They were usually established by by-law, and either appointed by the mayor or elected by the city council; though a few of them often, and now and then a long list of them, would be named in the charter and the method of election established by the Legislature; sometimes they have been elected by the people, as in the case of the street commissioners in Boston and the superintendent of streets in Lawrence. In order to simplify this arrangement and make it more effective a number of departments have in several cities been consolidated into a single board of public works; and this has undoubtedly rendered the departments concerned more effective. It remains true, however, in every city that the administration of government, once centralized in the single board of mayor and aldermen, is now dissipated into numerous departments. An effort to secure coördination has been made in several cities in the requirement that the mayor shall, as often as once a month, call together the heads of departments for consultation.

The people appear to like these commissions. For instance, the question of establishing a license commission for Worcester and a rapid transit commission for Boston was submitted to vote of the city and in each case carried in the affirmative.

Appointments.—As the extent of city business has grown and the number of city employees has increased, the political importance of controlling appointments has increased also. It has become a matter of much concern whether the mayor, or the aldermen, or the whole city council, or the heads of departments, should have the appointing power. As to the city officials, the appointment by the mayor subject to confirmation by the aldermen and the election by vote of *Appointments.* the city council are the common methods, about equally approved. It has been urged that the mayor should appoint without confirmation by the aldermen, in order that thus the people might hold him responsible for bad appointments. To this the practical politicians who control the granting of charters have answered that one man with entire control over appointments could so intrench himself in power that he would not fear popular disapprobation; and the examples of New York and Pennsylvania are cited to sustain the contention. In only one or two small cities is the mayor given such full power.

In the case of the lower city employees the heads of departments appoint. Since these latter officials owe their appointments largely to members of the city council, the aldermen and councilmen might with considerable confidence demand the employment of their own supporters by heads of departments. To check this evil, a number of charters, especially those framed after 1890, provide that neither branch of the city council shall directly or indirectly take part in the employment of labor; or, a few add, in the making of contracts for city work.

2. *FISCAL REFORMS.*—Having created a representative body exercising the power of the town over fiscal affairs, the Legislature seems finally to have felt an absolute distrust of its creation, and one of the chief problems in the framing of recent charters seems to have been placing a practicable check on the power of the city council over the city's finances. The granting of franchises in the streets has usually been dealt with in connection with the finances. Various ingenious checks have been devised. Thus, in several charters it is provided that appropriations and grants of franchises shall be made only

after a vote has been taken twice, at an interval of several days, **Fiscal Reforms.** and upon a roll-call. In other cities the mayor, after conference with the heads of departments, recommends appropriations, and no appropriation except such as he has recommended can be made without a two-thirds vote of each branch of the city government. In one or two cities, appropriations must be made in December for the ensuing year and can be increased during the next year only by a two-thirds vote. In several cities the mayor may veto a single item in an appropriation bill.

Another limit upon the power of appropriation is the tax and loan limit. By a general law all cities are forbidden to levy a tax above a certain limit, and to contract loans to an amount greater than a certain percentage of the taxable value of the city (the tax limit for city taxes being \$12 per thousand, and in Boston formerly \$9 and now \$10.50; the loan limit being $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the average valuation for the last three years). But, though this legislation is general, it has been subject to continual change by the Legislature. Thus cities are frequently given leave to borrow money in excess of the limit for such purposes as the building of a schoolhouse or a street; and several cities have from time to time been excepted from the tax limit.

A difficulty has been found in securing proper provision for schoolhouses, owing to the fact that the building of the schoolhouses has been in the hands of the school committee, while the appropriation of money has been in the hands of the city council. The plan was tried for a few years in Boston of putting the appropriation of money for the building of schoolhouses into the hands of the school committee. This provision had the unexpected effect of making a place on the school committee a political prize. By a recent act a schoolhouse commission has been established, to be appointed by the mayor with confirmation by the aldermen, with power to appropriate money and build schoolhouses; thus effecting an entire change in this matter. A similar plan has been adopted in other cities.

3. EXTENSIONS OF POWER.—At the same time that the Legislature has been interfering with the local government of

cities in some respects, in other ways it has authorized or permitted great extensions of the scope of civic activity. Indeed, to enumerate the directions in which the new activity of the cities is allowed to grow would be impossible. Certain cases may be stated as examples.

Education.—The work of education in cities during the first generation of their existence in Massachusetts was confined to the "common school." In the last half-century, however, a great extension has taken place. As to the schools themselves, high schools, trade schools, drawing schools, normal schools and schools for the deaf, have been maintained by the city. It

Education. has lately been seriously proposed that the City of Boston should establish a public university, and it probably has power to do so. But the work of the schools has been supplemented in an important way by the free public libraries. The first of these was the Boston Public Library, founded and maintained entirely by the city, and now one of the great libraries of the world; and every city in the State has long had its public library. The power to publish local histories and records of historic value has been given to the cities, as well as the power to erect monuments to mark historic spots. The cities, and the towns before them, have always had the duty of recording births, marriages and deaths; this department has lately been developed in Boston into an important department of statistics.

Health.—A board of health is an old department in the cities. City hospitals, with training-schools for nurses, are almost universal; food is inspected, and means

Health. adopted for checking contagious diseases. The cities maintain systems of sewers and dispose of ashes and garbage. In many of the cities public baths are maintained throughout the summer; but it is only in one of the towns, I believe, that a public swimming pool is maintained throughout the year. Public fountains are maintained and in summer the water is iced.

Streets and Means of Communication.—The early city laid out such streets as were not county roads and kept them just passable; it also constructed bridges. The maintenance of streets and bridges means now, however, much more than it

did fifty years ago. The street is now paved, swept and watered, the sidewalks paved, the way so thoroughly lighted as to be safe during the night, and the street is bordered with trees. The city is allowed to maintain free ferries as well as bridges, and to convey children to the school it provides for them. Recently the problem of rapid transit has been placed in the hands of the cities, and the City of Boston has been permitted to build a subway in order to secure such rapidity of transit as possible.

Beauty.—A decided extension of city activity, and a most interesting one, is its setting up as a teacher and arbiter of esthetics. Music and drawing have been for a long time taught in the public schools, and a Normal Art School maintained in Boston. In the new Boston Public Library building scores of thousands of dollars of public money have been well spent on mural decoration. Finally, an art commission has been established, to pass upon all the works of art offered to the city before they are accepted. Free concerts

Beauty. are given to the citizens by a municipal band. The laying out of streets is controlled by a board of survey which sees that convenience and beauty are not sacrificed to the need or whim of a private landowner; and the trees along the highways are kept free of insect pests. Parks and boulevards are laid out and beautified at great expense, with the help of the landscape gardener's art; and playgrounds are provided for the children of the public. Finally the height of buildings is limited by city by-law—unless, indeed, as in a recent notable case in Boston, the limitation is imposed by statute of the State, and the damages paid by the city.

In other matters the city's power has been increased. The employment and the hours of labor are, to be sure, to some extent regulated by the State; but the city has been given the right to establish a pensioning system for firemen and policemen, and to grant aid to old soldiers. A public printing plant has been established in Boston, with questionable success; but an effort to set up a public coal-yard was prevented by the Supreme Court.

4. *CONSOLIDATION AND COÖPERATION.*—The wastefulness of having many city affairs conducted separately in adjoining

small cities has within the last thirty years presented a constant problem. The first solution proposed was the annexation of smaller cities to a neighboring large city. Thus the territory of Boston was increased tenfold between 1867 and 1872 by annexation of Roxbury, Charlestown, Dorchester, West Roxbury and Brighton. That process has not lately been favored, but instead of it a system of coöperation between neighboring cities has been proposed. This has been successfully carried out in many directions. Parks, sewers, water and rapid transit for a dozen cities near Boston have been put in charge of Commissions, and thus all the advantages of consolidation have been obtained, while in their political affairs the cities retain their independence.

To resume, the present tendencies of city government in Massachusetts are toward increased interference by the State, a larger field of activity for the cities, and a considerable measure of coöperation between neighboring cities.

The Movement for Honest Government

By CHARLES J. BONAPARTE, Baltimore
Chairman Executive Committee, National Municipal League

The series of National Conferences for Good City Government, of which we now attend the tenth, constitute one feature of a very notable popular movement, in progress for some twenty-five years throughout our country. After the Civil War and the period of Reconstruction, the American people found time to "take stock"; we were reminded by our tax bills that we had a government, a fact our busy, prosperous fathers could more than half forget during two generations' space of steady internal colonization; and, with this reminder, came a growing measure of doubt and anxiety as to the practical merits, in sober truth and not in Fourth-of-July oratory, of all branches, national, state and municipal, of that government under which we lived. As always happens, it proved easier to recognize evils than to discover remedies; and, in the like accord with all human experience, our search for the latter was hampered by the proffer of all sorts of wonderful nostrums, warranted by their respective advocates to usher in a Golden Age. But, with that plain, hard common sense, that distaste for sound and froth, that craving for facts and distrust of ideas and theories, which have ever been the portion of English-speaking folk, the people of our Union have finally gained a fairly clear insight into the nature of our ills, and are gradually but steadily learning what medicine will heal them.

The underlying evil in the administration of our public affairs is simply dishonesty; our public offices are too often held by dishonest men, too often gained by Dishonesty. dishonest means, too often used for dishonest ends. Of course, I do not mean that all, or a majority, or

even any large number, of our officials take public moneys or fraudulently waste public property or in any way cause penitentiaries to yawn for them. Such incidents are, indeed, much more frequent than they should be, but it may be doubted whether the proportion of downright thieves among the people's servants is larger than among those of private masters.

The great bulk of Americans in public employ undoubtedly wish and intend to do their duty; but a grave and mischievous, though very common, confusion of ideas as to what is their duty makes the best of them sometimes fail to do it, and permits the worst often to neglect it with impunity.

The error is rooted in a mistaken and immoral theory as to the nature of the positions they hold. In law and morals alike a public office belongs to the people; its duties are fixed by the people's laws; its salary is paid with the people's money. In the words of the court of last resort in my own State:

"In this country a public office cannot be the property of the incumbent, because it belongs to the sovereign people who created the government. In the declaration of organic principles, prefixed to the instrument creating the government of this State, those holding the most important offices are declared to be 'the trustees of the public.' The same designation necessarily applies to all public functionaries. Therefore every office created either by the Constitution, or by the laws authorized by that instrument, is a public trust created for the public benefit."

While, however, few deny flatly and openly the truth of the doctrine thus laid down, it is practically contradicted every day and in all parts of the Union; for seventy-five years we have permitted our public offices to be treated as mere loot in a political warfare, not as trusts belonging to the people, but as "spoils" belonging to the "victors." A state senator of New York described in a recent interview how he induced young men to join Tammany. He said:

"I just send for them and say: 'I want you to join Tammany and help me in the work of my district. I always stick to my friends. Help me, and I'll help you. When I am up, you'll be up. When Tammany has anything to give, I'll get my share, and I'll give you your share,' and they always find I stick to my word."

It is plain that, to gain recruits, this eminent person trusts to precisely the same motives which may serve the like purpose for any leader of *condottieri* or even of brigands; as in the case of Byron's Alp:

"They followed him, for he was brave,
And great the spoil he got and gave."

The only difference is that, for his and their purposes, bravery would be useless, and shrewdness, selfishness and rapacity, therefore, take its place.

The practical and thoroughgoing application of this system leads naturally and inevitably to the choice for public offices, not of the men best fitted, or of men fitted at all, to discharge their duties as fixed by law, but of those who can render the most satisfactory return for their emoluments to the leader (*varia lectio*: "Boss") portioning them out. As a rule, these are not scrupulous men; because the Boss himself is not "squeamish" (if he were he would not be a boss), and his work is not work for "squeamish" people; but if they are troubled with scruples their experience in office tends to rapidly relieve them of the incumbrance. The office being really administered

Legal Fictions. for the benefit of the incumbent and his patron, but in theory of law for that of the people, a place-holder quickly recognizes with Mr. Perker that perjury is "a legal fiction," and his oath to faithfully discharge his duties has weight only for the "impractical" and "Sunday-schoolish." Moreover, since the pecuniary value of many offices can be largely increased by adopting latitudinarian views as to certain lines of official conduct, an absence of prejudice is soon cultivated against "tips," "sugar," the "plugging" of corporations, and other practices with conventional and euphemistic names which cloak such bald terms as extortion and bribery. During a recent hearing before our State Senate as to a corrupt practices act, advocated by the body I more especially represent here to-day, it was publicly stated by one of the most experienced politicians of the state, without dissent from anyone, that certain wealthy corporations habitually contributed liberally to the campaign funds of *both* the leading parties, in return for an implied, if not an

express, pledge that they should dictate legislation affecting them in case of the success of either; and, indeed, the fact that the bill in question made criminal any contribution for a political purposes by a corporation was universally admitted to have been the principal reason for its defeat.

Moreover, when the office-holder has "outgrown" the antiquated virtues of obedience to law and regard for his oath, he finds it easy to condone slight incongruities of conduct which result in his becoming an office-holder. Bribery or intimidation of voters, frauds at the polls, usually perpetrated with shameless connivance on the part of election officers, even concerted violence, become very venial offences to the politicians who "get there" ("there" meaning good berths) by such means. In my native State we obtained a free ballot and a fair count only as the fruits of twenty years' strenuous, persistent agitation and for the past eighteen months it has been the most open of questions whether we should retain them.

A resort to such methods to attain power, and its employment, when attained, for such ends have become so nearly matters of course to a numerous class in this country that they really doubt the sincerity and common sense of all who condemn them. A story is told of a well-known professional politician in Baltimore, now deceased, who, notwithstanding a very humble origin and a very imperfect education, had acquired great influence and accumulated considerable wealth by the merits and practices common and approved among those of his calling. He professed the same form of Christianity that I do, and, on his return from church early one Sunday

Politics and Religion. morning, is said to have been met by a newspaper reporter, who remarked to him, in substance: "Mr. A., I do not understand how so regular an attendant at church as you are can be also so great an adapt in 'stuffing' ballot-boxes, 'fixing' juries and witnesses and 'plugging' corporations." "Mr. B.," replied the statesman, "*I never mix up politics and religion.*"

I think this remark merits a moment's consideration, for so many of our citizens have begun to "mix up" a good deal of what my fellow-townsman called "religion" with what he called "politics," and the resultant of this mixture has been so

unpalatable and unwholesome to those of his ways of thinking and acting that a few words as to the real nature, causes and consequence of the phenomenon may be timely and not without interest.

It is said when Cuvier heard that his colleagues of the Academy had defined "crab" as "a little red fish that walks backwards," he made but three criticisms—the animal wasn't a fish, it wasn't red and it didn't walk backwards. I might comment to somewhat the same effect on the use of the terms which I have just quoted, for the element introduced is not, properly speaking, "religion;" the field of its action is not, properly speaking, "politics," and the process is much less one of commingling than one of exclusion. The criticism, perhaps, would apply rather to the words used than to the idea conveyed; but inaccurate or equivocal language is often both a source and a cloak for confused thought, and I may be pardoned if I give a little time to its development.

Civil society exists because of the common moral nature of man. If we did not all think alike as to certain matters we simply could not live together at all, and whenever on these vital questions a section of the community shows that it truly and practically rejects the accepted standards of thought and conduct, an instinct of self-preservation forces the state to say of it, as Cato said of Carthage, "*Delenda est.*" The executed Thugs of India may have been as truly martyrs as St. Stephen, but no government, however tolerant, could treat murder as a permissible religious rite. We shall be obliged to deal in like manner with the anarchists after they have killed a few more of our Presidents; and we have not hesitated to crush out polygamy by persecution, even when practised in alleged obedience to a divine revelation. When a man, by word or act, tells his neighbors that he will kill them when he gets the chance, if they take him seriously, they will kill him before he gets the chance; and he tells them this when his course of life shows either that he is intellectually color-blind as to the moral tints of conduct or that he rejects his conscience as a guide.

For practical purposes, in this world at least, it makes little difference whether a man err from perversity of mind or from depravity of nature; whether for him wrong be right or he

choose the acknowledged wrong. But mankind has been always and is everywhere reluctant and slow to believe in the former explanation of immoral conduct. The experience of the race has taught it that few naughty things are done because they are not known to be naughty, and many because, although so known, they are also felt to be nice. And it may be here noted that, as we know other men better, we recognize the more thoroughly and readily their likeness to ourselves, and, as a consequence, the universal application of underlying moral laws amidst all diversities of national or local custom or prejudice. A well-known writer once protested against that perversion of conscience which pronounced the same conduct right on one side of a mountain range and wrong on the other. Thanks to telegraphs and newspapers, to steamships and railways, we know both countries better than he did, and therefore well enough to see that, just because it is right in the one case, it is wrong in the other; precisely as the color-barometer is pink during rain for the same reason which makes it blue during clear weather.

Whether any given action is right or wrong; whether any given man is good or bad; whether any practices or ways of living are honorable or dishonorable, these are *moral* questions; they are, indeed, also *religious* questions in our day and country, but this is because the religion of the Bible is essentially and primarily a *moral* religion. To us it seems almost a contradiction in terms to speak of an "immoral religion," but mankind has known many such. That justice and fair dealing and charity toward our fellow-men are more pleasing to the Deity than incense and burnt offerings, shrines or temples; that any form of worship or reverence from those unclean of heart awakens his wrath—these were ideas new and strange to a heathen world. Indeed, to not a few among professed Christians they are still hard sayings. An acute observer, speaking of a well-known man noted for a rather ostentatious piety, and, in some respects, a marked absence of scruples, said the latter doubtless regarded family prayers as commendable and lying and cheating as reprehensible, but could not understand why a man who habitually lied and cheated was more blameworthy if he had family prayers than if he hadn't. The prayers, to his mind, seemed a sort of

equitable set-off to his daily life. Doubtless the political leader to whom I first referred this evening took much the same view of his own edifying practices and peccadilloes.

If the problems of morals are not necessarily within the sphere of every religion, they are yet more surely and evidently, always, and from their very nature, without the legitimate sphere of politics. Men equally conscientious and patriotic have always differed and, while human nature remains essentially unchanged, always will differ, as to question of public policy. A measure which to one seems wise and just will often to a man of different temperament, education, surroundings or private interests appear highly inexpedient or oppressive; yet the opinion of each may be perfectly sincere and inspired by an earnest purpose to advance the public welfare. It is not always easy for a strong partisan to recognize that there may be this honest difference of opinion; he will be often tempted to think those who cannot see things as he sees them *humani generis hostes*; but free government is possible only if and where this fact of human nature is practically accepted by the people. In the United States we realize that even those who put spokes in the wheels of our pet apparatus for ushering in the millenium are not necessarily servants of the devil; and we enjoy an orderly liberty. In some countries of the New and some of the Old World no party seems able to admit this; the result is alternations of absolutism and confusion.

There is, however, a fundamental distinction between tolerating mistaken views and tolerating immoral professions or behavior. Macaulay claimed that one could not without self-contradiction say of Charles I, "He was a good man but a bad king." No one who violated in the discharge of public duties the principles of morality and honor could, he urged, be reasonably and justly spoken or thought of as "a good man." If this be true of an English king, it is no less true of an American citizen; the moral aspect of his conduct as a citizen cannot be ignored in any fair estimate of his character. In truth, when a man's words or actions show that he does not accept the obligations of conscience as controlling his political conduct, he is not a less, but a more legitimate object of criticism than if

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and Immoral
Professions.**

similar moral obliquity were displayed in his private life. A principle which would exempt from the censorship of public opinion that very province of human activity in which a man can most directly and visibly affect his neighbor's interests is, on its face, false and mischievous. Were it generally accepted that, as has been sometimes said, "in politics everything is fair," there would be simply no such thing as "politics;" for its existence implies some form of government by persuasion, and, with moral influences excluded, there would be room only for a government by pure force.

Our "spoils" politicians have not, indeed, reached that stage of development in cynical candor which might lead them to admit, in so many words, that such a government constituted their ideal; but undoubtedly it would be the logical outcome of their system. In a report on the participation of Federal office-holders in certain primary elections in Baltimore, the President of the United States, then a Civil Service Commissioner, said of this system :

"Resolved into its ultimate elements, the view of the spoils politician is that politics is a dirty game, which ought to be played solely by those who desire, by hook or crook, by fair play or by foul play, to win pecuniary reward, and who are quite indifferent as to whether this pecuniary reward takes the form of money or of office. At present the ordinary office-seeking ward-workers and a very large percentage of office-holders have grown to believe that it is part of the natural order of things that those who hold or seek to hold the offices should exercise the controlling influence in political contests. All of the office-seeking or office-holding ward-workers who came before me evidently believed that the business of managing primaries, and, in fact, the business of conducting politics generally, belonged of right to the office-holding caste. They were as thoroughly believers in a system of oligarchical government as if they had lived in Venice or in Sparta, only the names enrolled in their 'golden book' were those of the men who through political influence had been fortunate enough to get government place or who hoped to get it."

When this was written an inveterate malady of the body politic in Maryland was, or seemed to be, the indulgence of public opinion for offenses against the freedom and purity of the suffrage. It is safe to say that a majority of those there

holding prominent positions of public trust were, at that time, men widely and reasonably believed to have, at some stage of their political career, either taken part in fraud, bribery or violence at legal or "primary" elections, or knowingly accepted offices or nominations secured by such means. And of the really influential politicians, whether in or out of office, the big and little "bosses" and members of "rings" of various diameters who then constituted the State's true rulers, everyone had been more or less implicated in scandals of this character, and nearly everyone notoriously owed his power to dexterity and success in falsifying the expression of the people's or his party's will at the polls. One of them was a leader in the disorders of "Know-nothing" times; another was prosecuted for "stuffing" a ballot-box while serving as judge of election in 1875; a third (of somewhat humbler degree) was tried for illegally and fraudulently striking names from the list of voters, as officer of registration in 1885; the best known and most nearly omnipotent of all had been publicly and repeatedly accused of complicity in corrupt practices at elections and challenged to sue a responsible accuser; he had always wisely declined. Many of these men had criminal records; those who had not were indebted for immunity, not to any public belief in their innocence, not even, in most cases, to the want of tangible evidence against them, but simply to their "pull." Whether technically criminals or not, they were the allies and patrons of habitual law-breakers. Try to prosecute a gambler or brothel-keeper or offender against the liquor laws, and you were morally certain to find him shielded by the influence of some politician. Indeed the wishes of professional offenders of the classes indicated had great weight in the choice of public officers, at least in Baltimore. Once, while it was doubtful whom the bosses would select as State's Attorney, one of the candidates openly congratulated himself in conversation with me on being promised the support of "all the policy-dealers except two."

Honorable men in Maryland did not approve of such persons and such practices, but they too often and too readily accepted them as parts of the order of nature. They had come to look upon cheating at elections and the usurpation of political power

by the least worthy elements of the community as almost matters of course. They no longer felt the instinctive loathing, the paroxysm of contempt and disgust, awakened in a fresh conscience by sudden contact with a human reptile; familiarity had made this slimy being endurable. And, as they had to live in a society so governed, they learned, with greater or less repugnance according to the individual temperament, but all finally in some measure, to adapt themselves to their surroundings. Even when they sought to make things better, they were often led to employ the accustomed agencies in their work. Our long struggle for fair elections, in which we were, in fact, nearer than we seemed to victory when Mr. Roosevelt prepared this report, was really a struggle for self-government: when one man, or two or three men, a "boss" or a "ring," a dictator or a triumvirate, can determine in advance the result of any election, elections may be held, as elections were held in Rome under the Cæsars, but they will mean no more than did those.

Soon after the return to power of Mr. Richard Croker, four years ago, the New York "Evening Post" said of the restored dominion of Tammany and its "boss":

"In all civilized countries, even in China, the appointing power at least makes a pretense that he has selected his appointees for fitness. Under this new régime, Bossocracy, which is called "bossocracy," he makes no such pretense at all. Offices are filled just as peers are created. The boss is the fountain of offices just as the king of England is the 'fountain of honor.' Men get them just as they get a dukedom or the Order of the Garter—not because they deserve them, but because the boss likes them. An office in New York to-day is bestowed entirely without regard to merit, just as Lord Melbourne said the Order of the Garter was bestowed because there was 'no d—d merit in it.' This is the greatest novelty of all—the holding in a civilized state of a large number of offices by men who make no pretense of being fit for them, as a function, or have ever deserved them as honors."

Unhappily this system was not "the greatest novelty of all," nor even a novelty at all, in America; it was merely the logical and consistent application, without hypocrisy or other disguise, of principles of government still observed in the selection of the great majority of public servants and well-nigh universally observed before the reform legislation of the past twenty years.

The true remedy for these evils is, unwittingly, of course, suggested by the veteran Tammany leader whose methods of recruiting I described in his own words. He said, further, in the same interview from which I quoted :

"My plan would work perfectly but for one thing—that cursed 'civil service.' I have had to let many a promisin' young man go because I couldn't get him a chance to serve his country. As I have told you before, I've seen many, oh, so many, young fellows who were bubblin' over with enthusiasm and patriotism layin' right down and losin' all interest in their country after runnin' up against a civil service examination."

The grammar of this deliverance may not be faultless, but its truth is beyond dispute. Civil service reform, in fact, applies a caustic to the very ulcer of our politics in the application of morality and common sense to the choice of public servants. The typical American politician, as developed by the spoils system of politics, earns his living by holding, when he can get it, a public office, in return for past or expected party work. To get rid of him and his work we must thoroughly eradicate from our own minds and those of our fellow-citizens the absurd and wicked notion that offices are "spoils." This must be our first step if we would purify our politics, and so long a step that it will go far to render needless any further steps in the work of purification; and this is particularly true when we aim, as does the National Municipal League, especially at the purification of city politics.

It may be noted that "city politics" is really tautology, for "politics" is simply a Greek word naturalized in English, and meaning originally "city affairs." It is true that its significance has widened with time and with changes in human society. The ancient Greek knew no "country" as we use the term, except or beyond his city, and his name for its affairs means for an American of to-day those of his state or nation as well. Nevertheless, every man who interests himself actively in the good government of his city; who tries to secure for it an efficient police force and fire department, well-paved streets, judicious regulations for the public health, public buildings in good repair, public schools in good working order, and, with all, low taxes and a dwindling debt; who does what he can to enforce

the law, punish crime and safeguard the order, good morals and prosperity of the community, so far as these are entrusted to **Pure Politics.** public officers—every such man is engaged in “politics;” is, in the Greek sense of the word, a “politician.” It is true that when we speak of a “politician” we do not usually mean such a man, and when we speak of “politics” we do not first think of such work; but if we mean by politics the trade of living on the taxpayers and getting rich at their cost, it is useless to consider how this occupation can be “purified,” for it cannot be purified at all. One might as well discuss how to purify policy-playing or the green-goods business, bunco-steering or the “flim-flam” game. Politics thus understood can never be pure except as being pure and unadulterated rascality.

If, however, we so use the word that honest men may follow the calling, it is easy to see when politics are “pure” and how, if they are otherwise, they may be “purified.” Purity is a word which readily acquires a conventional meaning; as applied to human character “pure” commonly signifies “sound on the main question,” that is to say, it denotes the possession or exhibition of the one quality or set of qualities for whose absence no other can compensate; without which no person, whatever his or her remaining merits, is really worthy of respect. A woman is called pure when she is chaste, because, for her, chastity is the *sine qua non* of a life useful to society; a man in public life is pure when he is honorable and disinterested, although in other respects he may be open to grave censure; if he is untruthful, self-seeking and exposed to suspicion in money dealings, no matter what may be his apparent piety or freedom from personal vices, he is not called or thought of as a pure man. Alexander Hamilton was not much more of a saint than the man who killed him, but there was between them just the difference which made for the man of their day and makes for history all the difference possible. When, therefore, we speak of “pure politics,” we mean politics guided and controlled by sincere, scrupulous and unselfish men; the politics of any community can be “purified” only by leading such men to engage in them and driving other men out of them; and each of us aids in the “purifying” process when he tries to render a

political career attractive to our best citizens, and does what he can to make the worst gain a living otherwise.

To effect the latter purpose, I fully agree with the Tammany veteran in holding "that cursed civil service" the most effective, indeed the indispensable, means. I may, perhaps, appropriately close my trespass on your attention with a word of suggestion as to how we can aid in effecting the former. The expediency of inducing the right sort of men to engage in politics is no less generally admitted than that of keeping out the wrong sort, but there is often much confusion of ideas regarding the way to bring about this desired result. Publicists and preachers usually explain with much reiteration and emphasis that if good men would go into politics we should have better and cheaper government, and then seem to think their proposition proved. But suppose *I could* get ten cents taken off the tax rate by giving three-fourths of my time to controlling primaries and running conventions, would it pay me to do this? Would all the labor, discomfort and contention involved in such a life be repaid by my share in the benefit resulting to the community from a more honest and economical management of public business? In every other field of labor, we obtain the workmen we wish by making their work attractive and profitable; in politics all our laws and customs seemed devised to make the occupation distasteful and burdensome to the very people we are all the time urging to take part in it. For a long time it was thought in England that sailors could be obtained for ships of war only by compulsion, and they were impressed with incidents of great hardship and oppression to themselves and great inconvenience and danger to the state. After a while the idea arose that if sailors were as well paid and as well treated on men-of-war as on merchant ships they

Attractive Public Life. would be equally ready to serve on the former; the plan was tried and the English press-gang became a matter of history. This may serve as an object lesson to us. Beside trying to drive decent people into politics through a sort of moral press-gang by scolding and bullying and hectoring them for staying out, may it not be well to try to remove those features of politics which make the career, for them, unprofitable and un-

congenial? If this can be done, they will often adopt it voluntarily. Any one would work as readily for the City or State of New York or the United States as he would for Columbia University or the Pennsylvania Railroad were the work equally to his liking and were he equally well paid.

But, while I would see needless and harmful obstacles to their political activity removed, I do not look to their self-interest as our best hope. To my mind reformers, especially reformers of municipal affairs, have thought and written and talked too much about the cost of bad government. This is, doubtless, grievous enough to the community, but, after all, if it is a mere question of what pays for each individual citizen, are you sure that the wisest course is not to "see" the reigning boss? As a matter of comparative expense there is much to be said for this: if your property is assessed for one-fourth its value, you can afford high taxes and even pay a reasonable blackmail beside. I would take other ground and appeal to other motives. The gravity of existing evils and the need of a remedy have been forced upon the attention of our philanthropists as well as of our patriots, for whoever would now do good in any form to his fellow-men finds the degradation of our political life a hindrance in his task. If he would protect the public health, wisely relieve want, train youth, shelter the unfortunate, prevent vice or punish crime, he must deal with the boss and the ring, and, to do his allotted work well, must sooner or later sweep them from his path. He cannot, however much he would, let them alone, for they will not, indeed cannot, let him alone. Could he and those like-minded with him attain full success, their power and prosperity were doomed, for they would then have no victims whereon to prey, no dupes to do their work; by the very law of their being they are the natural enemies of every one who would lead others to a higher, purer, healthier life. Men like them have made their trade so dangerous, so odious, so noisome that against it every force in our midst that makes for righteousness will be directed to-morrow, if it is not to-day.

The American League for Civic Improvement

By PROF. CHARLES ZUEBLIN, Chicago, President

It is rather difficult to follow the inspiring and optimistic report of the Secretary of the National Municipal League with an introduction to you of the modest organization known as the American League for Civic Improvement, the name even of which I am afraid has not been known to many of you hitherto. I, however, make this introduction with less hesitation because, in spite of being one of its officials, the pioneer work was done before I had the privilege of entering the ranks, and I can speak as one who has come in and discovered much of interest; as one who has come to believe very intensely in the work that the organization has set out to do. I shall therefore try to speak briefly this afternoon as an outsider who views this organization as one whose members have been giving time and thought to carry on a work in which he thoroughly believes.

One might almost ask why there should be more of these organizations, particularly in view of the very evident fact that the Secretary of the National Municipal

The National
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League seems to be possessed of all the information which needs to be known in regard to all the organizations of a kindred nature in this coun-

try that are doing anything of any value. Why, then, should we have the temerity to present to you what is being done by another organization, and why, in the face of the work that has been done by apparently kindred bodies, should anybody have the audacity to organize even locally another society? I hope that I may be able to make clear to you why there should be another organization.

In the first place, the American League for Civic Improvement entirely lacks, or has until the present lacked, the splendid

aid which has been given by that great corps who have done so much in behalf of the National Municipal League. One has but to attend one of the sessions of the National Municipal League to find that it is conducted by experts, that the men who have charge of its activities are men who are versed in all of the intricacies of municipal government, and who not only know what is going on in all parts of the country, but who are largely responsible for the good things that are going on in the cities.

If one turns to the American Park and Outdoor Art Association, of which you will hear the record in a moment, he finds

American Park and Outdoor Art Association. that while there are many laymen identified with that association, there are a great many more men connected with it who are known as

pioneers in that class of work, landscape architects and men who have demonstrated, by the beautiful work which they have accomplished, and which is now before us, which we can see in most of the chief cities of the country, that they are men who are experts in their lines, and have very greatly aided that organization in its work.

But the American League for Civic Improvement is an organization composed of those who are not experts, and it is an organization which is going to represent the mass of the people, who do not know anything, except that they want to know something, and who are only doing the little bit of work which seems to occur to them to do along their narrow path, or back street, or in their little schoolhouse, but who know that there must be something going on in the outside world, with which they would like to be identified. That, I believe, in a modest way, is the work which the American League for Civic Improvement desires to accomplish. It was founded in response to a demand that grew from the desire of a number of village improvement societies in different parts of the country for some bond of communication. It was founded also for the purpose of uniting people not on one very definite purpose, such as the prevention of corruption of municipal corporations, but to unite in a common purpose the people and organizations of seemingly diverse kinds whose aims were already becoming unified, the necessity for which, perhaps, is not so great in

Boston as it is in other parts of the country. The people who are interested in municipal reform, and the people who are interested in the work of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association, and the people who are interested in the schools, usually resolve themselves down to about a hundred or a thousand, and work through their particular organizations as the best means of effecting the purposes to which they are devoting their energies. Should there not be an organization which should confederate the different local improvement societies, and, which uniting the local improvement societies, should come to stand for a comprehensive ideal?

It is also suggested to me by the reading of the report of the Secretary this afternoon, that the time of the beginning and the function of this organization which I have the pleasure of representing are quite different from the beginnings and functions of the National Municipal League. The National Municipal League began in a period of pessimism, when it was necessary to root out and destroy the bad things that were being done. We began rather in a period of optimism, desiring to go on doing the good things,—not merely tearing down the bad. Not but that the National Municipal League is doing the same thing, but the American League for Civic Improvement, and the American Park and Outdooor Art Association, whose endeavor is to accomplish some positive objective work, could probably never have done their work if it had not been for the breaking down of the barriers of suspicion, so that we could work outside of the field of politics, for we have felt the need at least of the faith of the communities, and their interest, in the work of the organization, if we have not needed political support. We need the faith of those representing the complicated interests to the number of about one thousand organizations in various American cities, with three hundred or more of whice we are in correspondence. There is growing in each of these communities a faith in this organization.

It is the saying of a good Chicago citizen that the people of Chicago never believed in their city. There have come to Chicago occasionally men who did believe in Chicago, of whom, for instance, Mr. Yerkes was one of the chief examples. Mr.

Yerkes had a great belief in the City of Chicago, and he came there and bought out our street railways for a song, and sold them several times to himself and others at a large profit, until he went away a multi-millionaire, having made his profits out of the scepticism of Chicago's citizens, who did not believe in her. To-day the belief of American citizens in the possibilities surrounding them is not monopolized by the keen investors and promoters, but it is being shared by the people who see that they can do some things themselves. I do not think that I am doing more than justice to the National Municipal League, which is the chief of all these organizations, when I say that its work in large measure has furnished the means for doing these things.

Having the means, what shall we do? You will hear, before you have finished this conference, of the magnificent scheme in Harrisburg, and you will hear of what is being done in Washington. Those are the two great, spectacular, specific improvements; and this society in whose behalf I am speaking represents the little, modest, back-door and back-alley improvement which would otherwise be overlooked in the midst of these spectacles. Somebody has to do this humble work, and I am sure that we are all coming to see that this humble work is not only going to mean local improvements, but, ultimately, a comprehensive ideal of the composite city—it is not merely going to mean that, it is going to mean something better even than that,—it is going to mean citizenship; it is going to mean that we shall help train these people for whom so much needs to be done.

365 Days of Citizenship. The various organizations that are identified with the National Municipal League are realizing that the annual vote is quite insignificant if it is not backed up by the three hundred and sixty-five days of citizenship. For most of the people active participation in politics is impossible, either because of their ignorance or their necessities; but they can participate in their own affairs at their own doors, in which they are necessarily interested. By being helped they can gain a conception of what is beyond, and when those people realize what the possibilities are their enthusiasm is going to become unbounded for the American city.

I said that the American League for Civic Improvement represents a modest movement and a modest purpose. That is perfectly true. We are willing to work in a quiet and unostentatious way; but, after all, we confess to nourishing within our souls a higher purpose and a bolder purpose. We believe that the possibility of a larger community life is within sight at least of the visionary, and we confess to a great many of the faults which are most decried to-day; we confess to having visions, and we confess to striving even to be popular; we issue as much literature as we can; we use the public press as much as we can; we are not in the least afraid of finding some sort of misinterpretation occasionally, if the individual reporter may not already have become possessed of all the facts. We are glad he is there, and we want our views and ambitions disseminated as widely as possible. And if that does not comport with the modesty which I have claimed for this association, you must remember that it originated in Ohio, that it has its headquarters still in Ohio, but that it is thinking of moving to Chicago.

The truth is that while we must have the experts, and the calm, scientific aid which you have in your organizations, and which is found in other organizations, we must have something which touches the people and appeals to them. We need the social settlement, and the schoolhouse as a social center. The majority of the people of American cities are convinced by objective accomplishment. I have no hesitation in saying that simple, scientific and reasonable as is the model charter of the National Municipal League, it is incomprehensible to the average American citizen at the present stage of his political education; but he can see and recognize a good schoolhouse, a pretty park, and a clean street, and those are things which are going to convert him to the idea of striving for the purification of politics.

One final word. As the secretary has told you, and as you have already known, we have, after many years of effort, succeeded in the City of Chicago in getting an honest Council. We have a large majority of honest Councilmen there, whereas ten years ago it was difficult to find one honest Councilman. But we confess sometimes in Chicago (with bated breath) that we are getting tired of honest

Councilmen, we are getting too many honest Councilmen; we want now to get some efficient Councilmen; and we feel, after all of this reform work that has been accomplished through the efforts of the National Municipal League, which has been in the lead, we still want some things done, and it will take something more than merely honest Councilmen to accomplish them. It will take a group of capable Councilmen, the employment of expert civil servants, backed by people who know what they want. It is the realization of how much remains to be done, and how much could be done through the effort of an efficient Council, an efficient corps of civil servants, and an educated public that has led to the organization of the American League for Civic Improvement.

The American Park and Outdoor Art Association

By EDWARD J. PARKER, Quincy, Ill., President

The American Park and Outdoor Art Association, organized at Louisville, Kentucky, in May, 1897, is the oldest national association which is actively promoting a national movement to make America the most beautiful country in the world by preserving its natural features in public reservations, by leading the public to acquire the best talent in the preparation of a city's plan, in the treatment of public and private buildings and their grounds, and especially in the harmonious association of architecture with landscape. To this end, the members of all professions engaged in such work are brought together in conferences, the organization of local societies for improving the surroundings of homes and the conditions of town life is encouraged, and students in all the schools are being encouraged to appreciate the beauty in the common things about them in order that they may in later life have a fuller appreciation of art in all its higher forms.

Since its organization, annual meetings have been held in Minneapolis, Detroit, Chicago and Milwaukee. Proceedings and papers presented at these meetings have been published in pamphlet form. As the papers presented have been for the most part prepared by men and women who are eminent in their professions, like H. W. S. Cleveland, John C. Olmsted, G. A. Parker, B. E. Fernow, William H. Tolman, Mrs. Edwin D. Mead, O. C. Simonds, W. J. Beal, the reports represent the best literature obtainable, having a direct bearing upon the various phases of outdoor art work.

The reports of committees, to which the investigation of various subjects has been assigned, are of great value, particularly the one relating to public advertising and laws relating

thereto in this and foreign countries by a committee of which
Committee Mr. Frederic L. Olmsted, Jr., was chairman,
Work. and a very complete and exhaustive preliminary report upon a park census for cities above fifty thousand in population prepared by a committee of which Mr. George A. Parker, of Hartford, is chairman. This report is to be followed by further statistics along the same line.

The Association has promoted the objects for which it was established by exhibitions of photographs at its Chicago meeting, at the Municipal Art League exhibit in New York, and it has now on exhibition at the International Exposition of Modern Decorative Art in Turin, Italy, sixty-four large photographs representing typical scenes in public parks, old and modern American gardens and home grounds, and of work accomplished in villages, cities, and about manufacturing establishments. This exhibit is accompanied by a catalogue giving reference to each photograph in French, Italian and English.

A Women's Auxiliary, presided over by Mrs. Herman J. Hall, of Chicago, has been a most efficient helper in promoting the work of the Association and encouraging the formation of local societies to carry on its work. The membership is made up of laymen and professional men and women who are interested in the general subject of outdoor and art, of park commissioners representing a very large share of the cities and towns having park systems in this country.

Our next meeting is to be held in Boston August 5, 6 and 7, and the program as already outlined is an exceedingly attractive one, including, as it does, such speakers as Dr. Chas. W. Eliot, of Cambridge; Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, of Philadelphia; Miss Myra Lloyd Dock, of Harrisburg; Mr. Charles Mulford Robinson, of Rochester; Dr. Albert Shaw, of New York, and others who are eminent in their field of work. We are expecting to have an unusually large attendance of park commissioners, as nearly two hundred have already signified their intention of being present. There will be special sessions for park commissioners, of the Women's Auxiliary, and of those representing the public school and playgrounds movement.

Instruction in Municipal Government in American Educational Institutions

The first report of the committee appointed by the National Municipal League to consider this question, was printed separately, and to the extent of 2,000 copies was distributed among the colleges, universities and leading educators of the country. Its generous reception indicated that it was meeting a need, and from the committee's correspondence we are persuaded that it has proved helpful and stimulating. It is not the purpose of the present report to schedule the colleges and universities giving attention to the subject of municipal government; but that the number has very considerably increased during the year is evidenced in many ways.

The committee having been continued by a special resolution passed at the Rochester meeting of the League, it has devoted its attention during the past year to a careful study of the whole field, and has secured for submission to the League, and later to the educational institutions of the country, two outlines of courses on the general subject, a plea for municipal art as a subject of study in school and college, and a list of available lecturers for single and course lectures.

The first outline presented is that of Professor Sparling, and has been followed by him in his classes at the University of Wisconsin with great success. His own words in describing the course are so direct and to the point that we have taken the liberty of reproducing them in place of our own:

"The work is presented in the form of lectures and reports by the members of the class on required reading from selected literature. We have never been able to confine ourselves to the text, although we have freely used Wilcox, Maltbie, Shaw and others. Since the publication of Fairlie's 'Municipal Administration' we have found less difficulty in the matter of

texts. To bring together the essential facts of the course, I prepared a syllabus on municipal government which is placed in the hands of each member of the class.* You will observe that some parts of the outline are not as full as may be desired, but the time which we have for this subject prevents too great elaboration. The references which will be found after each subject are not complete, but are intended to furnish representative readings upon each particular phase of the subject.

"The usual examinations are given in the class-room in order that we may know what the student is doing. In addition to this the student is required to make a rather complete report upon some topic which he selects or which is assigned to him. This brings the student into contact with the materials of the subject and stimulates a wider interest in the work that he is doing.

"We have been collecting for some time documents, charters and reports of the leading cities of the country and of the state, so that we have ample material for laboratory work and for the study of concrete problems. Our instruction, however, does not end with the class work. In connection with the Wisconsin Free Library Commission two traveling

**Traveling
Libraries.** municipal libraries have been started which contain about thirty volumes of carefully selected works, reports and shorter articles. These are put into convenient traveling cases, and are sent from city to city where problems of city government are under discussion. We have two on the road at present, and intend to increase them as the demand warrants us in so doing. The Commission is also at work upon the cataloguing of public documents in order that these may be of some use to the legislators, state and local officers of Wisconsin. In this manner the Library Commission will be a sort of a municipal clearing house, for information concerning the cities of the state. The work has just been started, and consequently nothing definite can be reported with reference to its ultimate value.

"As to the success of the laboratory method which I have used as far as possible in connection with my class work, I can only say that the interest has constantly grown until the class in municipal government is now beyond the point of numbers which can be most effectively taught. I find that the students very naturally like to tackle live questions, and they find these in great abundance in our cities."

Professor Zueblin's outline is that of a course of lectures which he has delivered throughout the country in university

* The Syllabus is published as a part of this report.

extension courses with great success, and which will shortly be published in book form. It deals with the other side of the question—that of municipal improvement, Dr. Sparling's dealing with the governmental or administrative side.

These two outlines, together with those of Dr. Rowe, Dr. Brooks and Mr. Woodruff, published in our first report, constitute a practical working basis for the preparation and elaboration of a satisfactory working course in college or university extending over one or two terms or one or two years. Instructors interested in the subject and contemplating the introduction of such courses are cordially invited to correspond with the members of the committee, or the Secretary of the League, Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, 121 S. Broad street, Philadelphia.

Professor Adams' article on "Municipal Art as a Subject of Study in School and College," written at the request of the Committee, will prove instructive and stimulating, coming as it does from one who has given so much study to this subject at home and abroad.

The following suggestions of Dr. Max West, of Columbia University, will be of interest as supplementing the courses of Drs. Sparling and Zueblin:

"A comprehensive course on that subject must include something of sociology and economics, as well as political science and administrative law. Beginning with the concentration of population in urban districts, it should consider the needs of the people which result from the growth of cities; and forms of city government should be considered only after or in close connection with the study of municipal functions. As I have said in another place (*Yale Review*, February, 1898), 'Students of municipal government in America have usually devoted themselves so exclusively to the forms of city government that they have had little time left in which to consider what purposes those forms are intended to subserve. . . . This is reversing the process of nature, which always makes the structure to fit its particular functions.'

"The study of municipal functions will necessarily extend to the methods of control over matters which are left more or less to private agencies. Too little attention has been paid to the conditions and methods of granting franchises—a subject which requires thorough study before we can reach any final conclusion regarding municipal ownership. The results at-

tained under municipal and private ownership must be compared, just as are the results attained under the contract and direct employment systems on public works. The topics should, therefore, be so arranged as to bring together public utilities, whether under private or public management.

"The following order of treatment is suggested: The growth of cities, streets, disposal of sewage, garbage and street-sweepings, water-supply, lighting, telephone and other wires, transportation, franchise policies and municipal ownership, education, public parks and playgrounds, public baths and laundries, contract and direct employment systems on public works, the city as agent of the state, municipal revenues, forms of city government."

The list of lectures is reproduced solely for the convenience of those desiring to introduce single or course lectures during the year. The committee is responsible only for **Lectures.** the professional standing of those included. It cannot assume any further responsibility, and all correspondence as to terms and dates must be addressed directly to the lecturers.

In submitting this report, the committee cannot refrain from expressing its feeling of gratification at the great increase of interest in all that pertains to the subject of its appointment and to express the conviction that the favorable outlook for increased instruction on municipal topics augurs well for a great advance in municipal standards in the near future.

THOMAS M. DROWN, Lehigh University, *Chairman.*

PROF. E. L. BOGART, Oberlin College.

PROF. JOHN H. FINLEY, Princeton University.

DR. WM. F. McDOWELL, Secretary Methodist Board of Education.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, Philadelphia.

DR. WM. H. ALLEN, Secretary New Jersey Board of Charities.

PROF. CHARLES ZUEBLIN, University of Chicago.

DR. JAMES H. YOUNG, University of Pennsylvania.

PROF. KENDRICK C. BABCOCK, University of California.

PROF. JOHN L. STEWART, Lehigh University.

Committee.

Syllabus of Course on Municipal Government

As delivered by DR. SAMUEL E. SPARLING,*
Assistant Professor of Political Science in University of Wisconsin

I. INTRODUCTION

The city as a factor in social, economic and political development. The importance of the city in modern life. Problems of city government. Outline of the course, texts, sources and bibliography.

II. GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION

1. CAUSES OF URBAN GROWTH: Defense and protection. Rivers and railroads. Economic organization of society and urban growth. Division of labor and increase of economic wants. Growth of commercial centers. Growth of industrial centers. Cultural factors.

2. STATISTICS OF URBAN GROWTH: Population of ancient and mediæval cities. Rise of the modern city. Urban statistics of Great Britain, Germany, France and United States. Comparison of urban and rural growth. Growth of small and large cities. Problem of the small town. Limits of urban growth.

3. RESULTS OF URBAN GROWTH: (a) Economic structure of the population. Strength of different groups of industrial classes. Struggle for the center. Rents and suburban growth. Statistics of over-population.

(b) Social structure of the population. Result of economic differences in living. Social opportunities. Evolution of the slum. Foreign population in American cities. Izoulet's statement of the social problem in cities.

(c) Political structure of the population. Industrial and social causes increase political difficulties. Rise of a large indifferent vote. Political exploitation.

4. CONTROL OF URBAN GROWTH: Past remedies. Increased transportation facilities toward the suburbs. Suburban attractions. Increased interest in rural life. Farm colonizations. Location of factories. "City building." Regulation of size and population of buildings. Parks and open places. Control of slums. Weber's summary of a desirable policy of control.

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Weber: *Growth of Cities* (Columbia Studies), pp. 20-94; 142-154.
Shaw: *Municipal Government in Great Britain*, Chapter 1.

*Dr. Sparling is also secretary of the League of Wisconsin Municipalities and an alderman in the city of Madison, Wis.—EDITOR.

James: *Growth of Great Cities*. *Annals*, January, 1899.
 Hart: *Rise of American Cities*. *Practical Essays in American Government*; also in
Quar. Jour. Econ. 4:129.
 Cooley: *Theory of Transportation*. *Am. Econ. Assn.* 9:223.
 Lalor: *Cities and Towns*. *Political Science Encyclopædia*.
 Boyd: *Growth of cities in United States*. *Am. Statis. Assn.* 3:416.
 Hammond: *Distribution of the Population of Cities*. *Am. Statis. Assn.* 4:113.
 Smith: *Statistics of Cities and Economics*. *Am. Econ. Assn. Pub.* 3:254.
 Pohlmann: *Die Überbevölkerung der antiken Gross-Städten*.
 Fletcher: *Drift of Population to Cities and Remedies*. *Forum* 19:737.

III. THE CITY IN HISTORY

1. GENERAL IMPORTANCE OF HISTORICAL SURVEY. Cities have been centers of civilization. Centers of social, economical and political interest.
2. THE ORIENTAL CITY. Evidences of the power and thrift of the oriental cities. Nature of their government. Public works.
3. THE CITY-STATE OF GREECE AND ITALY. Origin of the city-state. The influence of kinship and religion. Founding of new cities. Greek and Roman conception of law. Social classes in the cities. Social and political changes. The meaning of citizenship. Forms of government. Interest in public works. Financial administration. Police regulations. Decay of the city-state. Strength as a political unit.
4. DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN MUNICIPALITY. The position of the city in the Roman political system. Union of Latin cities. Founding of colonies. Spread of Roman customs and laws. Relation of the city to the government at Rome. Classes of provincial cities. Concept of municipality. Constitution of municipality. Citizenship. Municipal administration. Causes of the decline of municipal system.
5. CITIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES. A general European movement. Causes of urban revival. Roman influences. Ecclesiastical influences. Struggle for independence. Charters of privileges. Industrial and social forces in the cities. The rise of burgess class. The government of the city. Rise of gild system. Influence upon the city government. Character of the city problem. Police, justice, public works, charities, and education. Peculiar features in different countries. Growth of city leagues. Decay of the free city.

REFERENCES

Dillon: *Municipal Corporations*, I. Introduction.
 Fowler: *City-State of Greece and Rome*, Chapters I and XI.
 Coulange: *Ancient City*, Book III, Chapters I, III; Book V.
 Freeman: *Federal Government*, I, pp. 39-78.
 Maltbie: *Municipal Functions*; see *Municipal Affairs*, Volume II, pp. 1-33.
 Guizot: *History of Civilization*, I, Chapter VII.
 Cunningham: *Western Civilization*, pp. 92-131.
 Arnold: *Roman Provincial Administration*, Chapter VI.
 Adams: *Civilization During the Middle Ages*, Chapter XII.
 Emerton: *Medieval Europe*, Chapter XV.
 Green: *Town Life in 15th Century*, Volume I, Chapter I, VI; Volume II, Chapter XI, XVII.
 Fairlie: *Municipal Administration*, pp. 1-43.

IV. MUNICIPAL LEGISLATION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY

1. Rise of nationalism. Influence of the free city. Growth of local and central administration. The position of the modern city in the scheme of local administration. Legislative activity.

2. PRUSSIA. A type of the general municipal system. City ordinance of 1808. Views of Stein and Hardenberg. Period of 1822-31. Ordinance of 1831. Landlords' struggle for control of local government. Principles of the legislation of 1872.

3. FRANCE. The revolution and local government. Administration work of Napoleon. Later struggle for municipal liberties. Frequent legislation for the Communes. The municipal law of 1884, and its effect. General results of the century's legislation. The French system as a type.

REFERENCES

1. Prussia —

Seeley: *Life and Times of Stein*, Vol. II, pp. 237-255.
 Meier: *Reform der Verwaltungs-organisation*, pp. 307-347.
 Fairlie: *Municipal Administration*, Chapter VII.

2. France —

Shaw: *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*, pp. 146-165.
 Goodnow: *Com. Adm. Law*, pp. 267-272.
 Pascand: *Organization Communale et Municipale*, pp. 69-233.
 Stephens: *Lectures on France*, pp. 163-202.
 Bloch: *Dictionnaire de l'Administration. Commune* Historical part.
 Fairlie: *Municipal Administration*, Chapter VI.

4. ENGLAND. Views as to the origin of the municipal system. Growth of the municipal idea in England. The firma burgi and court leet. Character of the municipal government as revealed by the report of 1834. Restoration of privileges in 1835. Unsystematic legislation upon local government, 1835-1882. The municipal law of 1882. Effect of the county law of 1888. General results of recent legislation.

5. UNITED STATES. *Colonial*. Force of English models. Small urban population. Incorporations in colonies. Sources of the charter. Dutch rule in New York. Dougan Charter, 1686, for New York. Municipal peculiarities of Philadelphia in colonial period. Position of the New England town. General features of the colonial charter.

Beginnings of state legislatures. Effect upon cities of the change of sovereignty. Few changes in charters. First steps in separation of legislative and executive functions. Few municipal activities.

Era of special legislation. Growth of the elective principle. The village and city charter. Increase of municipal legislation. Decline of the council. Incorporation of New England towns. Changes in the charters. Effects of special legislation. Rise of independent boards. Growing confusion and irresponsibility.

Era of charter improvement. Demand for responsibility. Tendency toward uniform legislation. Revival of home rule. The freehold charter.

Growth of mayor's power. Improvement of civil service. Growth of municipal activities. State Commission. General results of legislation.

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English —

Gomme: Literature of Local Institutions, pp. 58-97.
 Gomme: Principles of Local Government, Chapter III.
 Vine: English Municipalities.
 Vine: English Municipal Code, pp. 1-12.
 Shaw: Municipal Government in Great Britain, Chapter II.
 Bell: Glasgow, Chapters II and III.
 Arminjon: L'Administration Locale de L'Angleterre, Chapter V.
 Vauthier: Le Government Locale de L'Angleterre, pp. 175-211.
 Stubbs: Constitutional History, pp. 602, 643.
 Chalmers: Local Government, Chapter V.
 Porritt: Englishman at Home, Chapter I.
 Westminster Review: Origin and Progress of Municipal Corporations, XXII, 408-39.
 Fairlie: Municipal Administration, Chapter IV.

United States —

Fairlie: Municipal Program, pp. 1-36.
 Greenlaw: Office of Mayor in United States, Municipal Affairs, III, 33.
 Goodnow: Municipal Problems, Chapter I.
 Goodnow: Comp. Adm. Law, pp. 193-207.
 Quincy: Municipal History of Boston, Chapters IV and V.
 Fairlie: Municipal Administration, Chapter V.

V. ORGANIZATION OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

1. POSITION OF THE CITY. Definition of a corporation. Corporations classified. Concept of a municipal corporation. Private and public features of a municipality. Liabilities of municipalities in general. Municipal idea as applied to the different divisions of the state. Relations of the city to the state.

2. MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE. Relation of the people to the corporation. Extension of the suffrage. State and local suffrage. Strong property qualifications in Europe. Three-class system in Prussia. Outlines of English municipal suffrage. Belgian municipal suffrage. Educational and property tests. Universal suffrage of France and United States. Conditions in American cities. Tendencies in municipal suffrage. Property tests in American cities. Summary of conditions of modern municipal suffrage.

3. POLITICAL PARTIES AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT. Reasons for party activity in city government. Decentralized state administration and spoils system. Maintenance of party organization. Remedies; Separate municipal elections; merit system in appointments; centralization of state administration; direct nominations; non-partisan vs. partisan movements. Forms of representation in city council.

REFERENCES

Position of the City —

Goodnow: Municipal Problems, Chapter II.
 Beach: Public Corporations, I, Chapters II, III.
 Dillon: Municipal Corporation, I, Chapters II, V.
 Shaw: Municipal Program, pp. 59-74.

Municipal Suffrage—

Goodnow: *Municipal Problems*, Chapter VII.
Wilcox: *Study of City Government*, pp. 115-134.
Shaw: *Municipal Government in Europe*, pp. 216-223.
Shaw: *Municipal Government in Great Britain*, pp. 39-46.
Brooks: *Municipal Affairs*, September, 1899, or *Three-class system*.
Sterne: *Putnam's Economic Monographs*, Volume 7.

Political Parties and City Government—

Goodnow: *Municipal Problems*, Chapter VIII.
Goodnow: *Municipal Program*, pp. 129-146.
Jenks: *Proceedings of 1894-95*.
Foulke: *Proceedings of 1898*.
Waring: *Proceedings of 1896*.
Commons: *Proportional Representation*, Chapter VIII.
Eaton: *Government of Municipalities*, Chapters III, IV.

4. **LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.** *Elements of a city charter—prevailing principles.* Theory of separation of power in city government. Council and its relation to the suffrage. General positions of the council in the city government. Use of the bicameral system.

Council in German System. Three-class system and methods of election. Qualification of members. Tenure of office. Size of council. Organization of council. Powers of council. Selection of mayor and heads of departments. Its control over the city policy.

Council in French System. The gradual recognition of the influence of the councils. Influence of universal suffrage in selection of members of council. Graduated size of the council. Government by a majority. Qualification of candidates. Position and powers of the council. Selection of mayor and adjuncts. Budgetary powers of the council. Veto power of superior authorities.

Council in the English System. Strong position of in the city government. Election and qualifications of members. System of nominations. Little exploitation of the vote. Few contests. Long tenure of strong men. Result is a strong conservative council. Organization of the council. Selection of mayor and aldermen. Use of committees. Powers of the council. Progress under a government by a council.

Council in the American System. Influence of separation of powers upon the position of the council. Great variety in structure of the council. Qualification of members. The problem of a better council. Bicameral system. Salaries for aldermen. Tenure of aldermen. Powers of the council. Patronage of the council. Theory of checks and balances. Council and public policy.

REFERENCES

Wilcox: *City Government*, pp. 143-179.
Goodnow: *Municipal Problems*, Chapter IX.
Goodnow: *Policy of Mayor and Council*. *Proceedings of 1899*. Single or Double Council. *Proceedings of 1898*.
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Shaw: *Municipal Government in England*, Chapters II, III and V.
Durand: *Council vs. Mayor*. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, 1900 Series.
Fairlie: *Municipal Administration*, Chapter XVII.

3. EXECUTIVE BRANCH. *General position.* How constituted. Mayor. Elective or appointive. Board or single commissioner systems for departments. Appointed by council or mayor. Term of office. Political influences. Lay or professional. Extent of powers.

German System. Election and tenure. Qualifications. Salary. Powers. Organization of executive department. Heads of departments. Working of cabinet system. General results.

French System. Election and tenure. Popular character. Ordinance power. Appointing power. Position of adjuncts. Non-professional character. Cabinet feature. Relation to state executive power.

English System. Election and tenure. Rudimentary power of mayor. No logical distribution of powers in English municipality. Heads of departments. Permanency of the service.

American System. Growth of executive power in American cities. Loss of legislative and judicial powers. Election and tenure. General powers. Results of this distribution. Methods of securing harmony and responsibility. Heads of departments in American city. No general rules as to appointment. Brooklyn plan. Principles for reorganization of executive power in American city.

6. RESULT AS TO ORGANIZATION IN GENERAL. Character of suffrage. Central position of council. Theory of unity and responsibility. Recent tendencies in organization.

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Schmitz: Burgomasteries, p. 63.
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Eaton: Government of Municipalities, Chapters XII-XIV.
Durand: Mayor vs. Council, Pol. Sci. Quar., 1900.
Wilcox: Study of City Government, pp. 179-243.
Bryce: American Commonwealth, I, Chapters 50-52.
Bradford: Lessons of Popular Government, II, p. 456.
Shaw: Same as Council.
Fairlie: Municipal Administration, Chapters XVIII-XX.

VI. FUNCTIONS OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

1. GENESIS OF MUNICIPAL FUNCTIONS. Periods of great municipal activity. Relation of municipal to state activity. Relation of the political to the economic city. Classes of functions. Lost functions of the modern city.

2. PROTECTION FUNCTIONS. *Growth of municipal police systems.* State interest in police administration. European methods of central control. State police boards in the United States. Organization of police departments. Creation of police areas. Localization of crime. Control of police problems, through license, etc. Classification of police services. Efficiency of European and American systems.

Growth of modern fire protection. European vs. American systems. Problems in American cities. Use of hydrants, etc. Paid vs. volunteer departments. Equipments. Insurance fund. Fire and police pensions.

3. CHARITIES. Close relation to sanitary problems. Large interest of private philanthropy. Better municipal control and regulation in Europe. Parisian system. Charity organizations in the American city.

4. EDUCATION. *Growth of state interest in education.* State regulation of school system. Municipal support and administration. Tendency towards separate school boards in the United States and England. Municipal interest in technical education.

Growth of public libraries. Municipal art galleries and museums. State and municipal aid to such enterprises. Branch libraries. Children's rooms.

5. RECREATION. Growth of the modern park systems. Zoölogical and botanical gardens and collections. Encouragement of games and sports. Municipal concerts. Municipal baths.

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Goodnow: Home Rule, Chapter II.
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Maltbie: Municipal Functions, Chapter II, VI.
Durand: Pol. Sci. Quar., March, 1901.
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Woolsey: Nature and Sphere of Police Power, Jour. Soc. Sci. 97, 114.
Forum: American and English Services, Vol. II, 229.
Brooks: Annals V, I.
Fairlie: Municipal Administration, Chapters VIII-X.

6. PUBLIC WORKS AND SANITATION. Growth of interest in public improvements and reasons. Sanitary problems. Destruction of slum districts in English cities. Transformations in Paris and in other continental cities.

Street surfaces and conditions determining their use. Contract system in construction of streets. Betterment taxes. Street maintenance. Sidewalks, grade crossings and bridges.

Street cleaning. Methods in Paris. Removal of night soil and snow. Waring's work in New York city. Methods of garbage disposal. Street sprinkling.

Sewage disposal. Former methods. Sewage farms. Sludge fleets. Drainage canals. Broad irrigation. Chemical precipitation. Bacterial process.

7. INDUSTRIAL FUNCTIONS. Real estate and house property. Municipal insurance. Food inspection. Municipal abattoirs. Public markets. Pawn shops, savings banks. Water-works. Gas and electric lighting. Street railways. Franchises. Municipal telephones. Omnibus lines.

Growth of municipal activity. Increasing public needs. Public vs. private monopoly. Profits. Regulation vs. ownership and operation. Improved service with extended functions. Expediency as a test. Consolidation of private interests suggests municipal activity. Enlarged public interest

and capacity. Other factors. Summary of arguments for and against municipal ownership. Summary of functions.

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Various City Reports.
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VII. MUNICIPAL FINANCE

Increasing municipal activities and a demand for revenue. Growth of municipal indebtedness. Growth of special areas for taxation. Demand for better methods. Uniformity through accounting. Municipal budgets.

MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES. Motives for expenditures. Economy in expenditure. Funding system. Expenditures from general fund for revenue producing purposes. Relative costs of different departments of municipal activity.

MUNICIPAL REVENUES. Control of assessment and collection. Sources of ordinary revenues. Contribution from fees and fines. Special levies. Benefit assessments. Revenues from franchises. From industrial undertakings. Private contributions.

VIII. CONTROL OVER THE MUNICIPALITY

FORMATION OF CONTROL. Nature of interests to be guarded. Kinds of control. Popular control. Election of officers. Control of appropriations. Initiative and referendum. Voting bonds and expenditures.

JUDICIAL CONTROL. Juristic concept of municipality. Incorporation and effect. Private legal responsibilities of the municipality. Liability for torts and contract. General principles of charter construction.

LEGISLATIVE CONTROL. Seeks to control social well-being and general policy. Legislative sovereignty. Tendency toward general legislation. Limits of legislative control.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL. Seeks governmental efficiency. Continental methods. Powers of local government board of England. Beginning of such control in the United States. State municipal boards. Needs of administrative control in the United States central and local government.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION. Formation of budget. Methods of assessment and collection. System of auditing.

REFERENCES

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American Municipal Progress Syllabus

Prepared by PROFESSOR CHARLES ZUEBLIN
University of Chicago

I. MUNICIPAL SOCIOLOGY

CITY. Legal and topographical unity.

MUNICIPALITY. Functional unity.

URBAN DISTRICT. Psychological and industrial unity. Examples: New York, Chicago, Pittsburg, Manchester, London, Boston.

MUNICIPAL SOCIOLOGY investigates the means of satisfying communal wants through public activity: use of term restricted rather than comprehensive.

METHODS OF INVESTIGATION.

- (a) Documents.
- (b) Personal observation.
- (c) Interviews.

SUBJECTS OF INVESTIGATION.

THE COMPOSITE CITY.

II. TRANSPORTATION

THE FIRST PROBLEM: ACCESS TO THE CITY.

Grade Crossings— Union Stations—

Jersey City,	Providence,
Pittsburg,	Philadelphia,
Joliet,	St. Louis,
Boston,	Boston,
Chicago,	New York,
Philadelphia.	Baltimore,
	Washington,
	Columbus,
	St. Paul,
	Toledo,
	Indianapolis.

Water Front—

New York,	
Philadelphia.	

Ferries—

Boston,
New York.

Bridges—

Brooklyn,
St. Louis,
Chicago,
Cleveland,
Milwaukee,
Boston.

Tunnels—

Chicago,
New York.

RAPID TRANSIT. New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Detroit, Milwaukee, Boston, Chicago.

CONTEMPORARY STREET RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT.

1. Consolidation.
2. Electrification.
3. Universal transfers.
4. Through routes.
5. Limitation of franchise.
6. Limitation of stock.
7. Reduction of fares.
8. Labor policy.

III. PUBLIC WORKS

FIRE DEPARTMENT.

STREET DEPARTMENT.

- Scientific paving.
- Conduits.
- Street cleaning — New York, Colonel Waring; Boston.
- Garbage — Separation. Cremation.

LIGHTING.

- Electricity — Arc lights. Incandescent lights.
- Gas — Ohio cities, Philadelphia.

OTHER ILLUMINANTS.

IV. SANITATION

DEATH RATE.

HOUSING.

WATER SUPPLY.

- Saltwater,
- Dust,
- Pollution,
- Filtration.

Chicago,
New York,
Boston,
Philadelphia,
Pittsburg,
Albany,
Elmira.

MARKETS. Food inspection.

SMOKE.

EXPECTORATION.

PUBLIC CONVENIENCES.

SEWERAGE.

1. Outfall.
2. Separation of sludge.
3. Broad irrigation.
4. Sewage farming.

Chicago,
Memphis,
Boston,
Pasadena,
East Cleveland,
Massachusetts cities,
Baltimore.

*V. PUBLIC SCHOOLS***INTRODUCTION—**

The Home, the School and
Industry.

LACK OF FUNDS.**WASHINGTON—**

Methods. Cf. Chicago.

KINDERGARTENS.**NATURE-STUDY—**

Philadelphia Girls' Normal
School.

MANUAL TRAINING—

St. Louis,
St. Paul,
Toledo.

DOMESTIC SCIENCE.**VACATION SCHOOLS—**

Cambridge,
Boston,
New York,
Philadelphia,
Chicago,
Buffalo.

COMMERCIAL HIGH SCHOOLS—

Philadelphia,
Pittsburg,
New York.

DISCIPLINE—

Self-Government.

NIGHT SCHOOLS.**LECTURES.**

SOCIAL USES OF THE SCHOOLS.
HOME GARDENING ASSOCIATIONS.

ART TEACHING.**DECORATION.**

COMPULSORY EDUCATION—
Parental Schools.

*VI. PUBLIC LIBRARIES***HISTORY.****LIBRARY COMMISSIONS—**

Massachusetts.

LIBRARY LEGISLATION.**LIBRARY GROWTH.****LIBRARY FUNCTIONS.**

1. Provide books.

(a) Open shelves—
Cleveland,
Philadelphia,
Buffalo.

(b) Branch Libraries—
New York,
Chicago,
Philadelphia,
Cleveland,
Pittsburg.

(c) Children—
Brookline,
Buffalo,
Pittsburg,
Detroit,
St. Louis,
Cleveland.

(d) Periodicals.

(e) Students—

Boston,
Chicago,
Pittsburg,
Cleveland.

(f) Coöperation.

2. Administer wisely.
(a) Librarian—
Assistants,
Classification.

3. Create interest.

*VII. PUBLIC BUILDINGS***POPULAR IDEALS.****LIBRARY BUILDINGS (typical)—**

Interior equipment,

Location.**(a) Commanding—**

Washington,

Pittsburg,

Milwaukee.

(b) Convenient—

Chicago,

Philadelphia.

(c) Commanding and Convenient—

Boston,

New York,

Allegheny.

ART GALLERIES AND MUSEUMS.**DECORATION—**

Boston,

Washington,

New York.

OTHER MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS.**CITY HALLS—**

Philadelphia,

San Francisco,

New York.

GROUPING—

Washington,

Architectural Commission.

Boston,

Cleveland,

Cedar Rapids,

St. Paul,

New Orleans,

Charleston.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS—

Philadelphia,

Massachusetts.

Decoration,

Public School Art Soci-

ties.

Hygiene,

Boston, Washington, Chi-

cago.

Baths.

Gardens.

Playgrounds.

*VIII. PARKS AND BOULEVARDS***EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN PARKS.****AREA AND DISTRIBUTION—**

Cities over 100,000—St. Paul, Minneapolis, Boston, Dayton, Columbus, Chicago, Lynn, New Haven.

BOULEVARDS—

Washington (Statuary),

New York (Fifth Avenue, Har-

lem Speedway),

Boston,

Chicago,

Detroit,

Buffalo,

Toledo,

Duluth,

Mobile.

SMALL PARKS—

Philadelphia,

Boston,

New York,

Chicago.

GREAT PARKS—

Philadelphia,

Chicago,

New York,

Brooklyn,

Baltimore.

PARK SYSTEMS.

Chicago. Diversity in parks.
 Boston—
 Common,
 Local parks and play-
 grounds,
 Larger parks.
 Metropolitan reservations—
 Forests,
 River,
 Seashore.

PUBLIC RESERVATIONS—

Massachusetts.
 RAPID DEVELOPMENT—
 Essex county, New Jersey,
 Indianapolis,
 Louisville,
 Kansas City,
 New Orleans.
 RECREATION IN THE PARKS—
 Restaurants,
 Amusements,
 Athletics,
 Music.

IX. PUBLIC RECREATION

PLAYGROUNDS—

Congestion.
 New York—
 Mulberry Bend Park,
 Seward Park.
 Boston—
 School playgrounds,
 Open-air gyms.
 Philadelphia.
 Chicago—
 School playgrounds,
 Douglas Park,
 Special Park Commission,
 Skating.
 LEGISLATION IN NEW YORK.

PUBLIC BATHS—

New York,
 Grand Rapids,
 Davenport.
 All-the-year public baths—
 Milwaukee,
 Brookline,
 Chicago.
 Open-air baths—
 Detroit,
 St. Paul,
 New York.
 Boston system of baths.
 Dover street bath-house.
 Open-air baths.
 Revere Beach.

RECREATION PIERS.

PUBLIC GYMNASIUMS.

X. MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

THE OBJECT OF GOVERNMENT.

The Free Life.
 Relaxation of Old Restrictions.
 New Regulations.

PUBLIC FUNCTIONS ARE BEING EXTENDED.

"Municipal Socialism." Sidney Webb.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP PROMOTES PRIVATE INITIATIVE.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP PROMOTES GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP PROVIDES FOR THE COMING GENERATION.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP SUSTAINS AND RAISES THE STANDARD OF LIVING.

Municipal Art as a Subject of Study in School and College

By DR. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, Philadelphia

A widespread interest in the esthetic improvement of towns and cities has sprung up during the last decade; in fact, the growth of this demand for art in the street has been phenomenal. Even so late as the early nineties very little attention was given it, and municipal art and town improvement societies were extremely few. Today there is scarcely a town or city without at least one organization, and in the large cities there are many such, devoted to beautifying their respective localities. In addition, every club or other similar body with educational aims expends part of its energy on municipal art.

Some of these societies limit their scope to arousing, educating and crystallizing public opinion; others seek also to influence official actions by suggestion and criticism, and still other collect and spend money for artistic improvements.

The eagerness with which all classes of citizens have entered upon this crusade for civic esthetics and the marvelous growth of the movement clearly indicate that here is a **Civic Esthetics**. domain of civic life of great interest to all. For this reason, it forms the proper approach to a political education. Not only does it offer a rich store of material for the study of civic functions, not only are such data so plentiful that no child can go on the street or look out of the window without encountering them, but the intimate relation which all of these facts bear to the common experience of every youth vitalizes them and clothes them with importance for each person. Those public functions which produce the beauty or ugliness of the city not only touch the feelings but they perform in a broader way the same kind of service which each one does for himself in trying to make utilities attractive.

The place to begin the study of civic esthetics, as for all political education, is right where the pupil stands—with the city in which he lives. Now a practical basis for a beautiful city is clean streets. Let the pupil go about the town or city making notes of its cleanliness or squalor. This will naturally lead to a study of the street-cleaning department, its organization, methods, expenditures and results. Then its spirit, functions and achievements may be compared with those of other similar cities.

In the same way may be considered the manner of removing garbage, ashes and other refuse; the scattering of circulars on **Clean Streets.** doorsteps, over-head wires, ugly signs, and, in fact, all conditions which make or mar the attractiveness of the streets.

When the streets are clean, attention may then be directed to trees, parks, playgrounds and the treatment of river banks. In every case the order should be: First, actual conditions; then an understanding of the municipal organs responsible for them, and lastly, possible improvements.

In like manner all public buildings may be taken up, beginning with lamp-posts and hydrants because they are most common, and then following with school-houses, bridges and all public buildings whatsoever.

The material for such a study is well-nigh inexhaustible, and lies right at hand where pupils and students can gather it for themselves. Many of them will have kodaks with which they can photograph the beauties and uglinesses of their town. These can then be shown as photographs or be turned into lantern-slides, and used most effectively.

The comparative method should be used constantly, comparing the good and bad of their own city with other cities, whose municipal art societies will be glad to exchange ideas and pictures with all students of public art. Then the pupils of a public school or the students of a college could arrange to exchange material (pictures, etc.) with pupils and students of other educational institutions. In this way there might be a wide and profitable interchange of ideas.

Can any one doubt the great benefit to be derived from such a course of study, or the ease with which a keen interest

may thus be awakened in municipal affairs? The students, instead of being compelled to learn by rote facts and political organizations, will be constantly on a voyage of discovery, gathering new data and interpreting their meaning. This exercise of the reasoning powers and the judgment on fresh facts forms a delightful intellectual operation, whereas cramming the memory with an army of good words is tedious in the extreme.

By studying civics in this way an organic relation is established between each citizen and his political environment—the concrete expression of civic life. The citizen is no longer indifferent to these concrete results of municipal action. For a long time we have tried to hold voters up to their political duties by exhortations instead of making our political education a means of establishing a vital relation between the voter and the political life about him. Yet when such a relation is once established the stimulus to political surroundings will be far more persistent and effective than exhortations to vote.

List of Lecturers

WHOSE SERVICES MAY BE SECURED BY COLLEGES AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS FOR LECTURES ON TOPICS RELATING TO MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT*

DR. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 819 South St. Bernard street, Philadelphia.

Subjects: "Public Art in Foreign and American Cities" (three lectures).
"The Political Value of Municipal Art."
"Municipal Art in the United States."

KENDRIC CHARLES BABCOCK, Berkeley, Cal., assistant professor of history and political science; director of San Francisco Settlement Association.

Subject: "The Municipal Problem." (Course of lectures.)

ERNEST LUDLOW BOGART, A.M., Ph.D., professor of economics and sociology, Oberlin College; member American Economic Association; member Committee on Instruction, National Municipal League.

Subjects: "The Growth of Cities and Municipal Government."
"Home Rule for Cities."
"The Organization and Administration of City Government."
"Proportional and Minority Representation."
"Municipal Civil Service Reform."
"Municipal Ownership and Activities."

DR. JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS, Cambridge, Mass., sociologist.

Subjects: "The Real Issue in Municipal Politics."
"Compromise or Principle in Political Action."
"Economics and New Politics."

HAMLIN GARLIN, 474 Elm street, Chicago, Ill., author of "Main Traveled Roads;" "U. S. Grant;" "Prairie Songs."

Subject: "Artistic Needs of American Cities."

MRS. CONDE HAMLIN, "The Marlborough," St. Paul, Minn., second vice-president American League of Civic Improvements; president Woman's Civic League of St. Paul, Minn.; chairman Minnesota Federation Committee on Town and Village Improvement.

Subjects: "The Commercial Value of Civic Beauty."
"Art and Politics."
"Woman's Opportunity in Civic Improvements."
"The School and Life."

*All correspondence relating to terms and dates for these lectures must be addressed directly to the lecturers themselves and not to the Secretary of the National Municipal League.

EDMUND J. JAMES, Chicago, Ill., president Northwestern University; vice-president American Economic Association; former president American Academy of Political and Social Science; former president American Society for Extension of University Teaching; vice-president National Municipal League; author of "Our Legal Tender Discussion," "The Education of Business Men," "The Relation of the Modern Municipality to the Gas Supply"; and of monographs and papers on educational, economic and political subjects.

Subjects: "The City Beautiful."
"Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities."
"The Twentieth-Century City."

ALBERT KELSEY, 931 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, member of the Executive Board of the American League for Civic Improvement; chairman of the Committee of Experts of the Art Federation of Philadelphia; past president of the Architectural League of America.

Subjects: "The City of the Future."
"Municipal Housekeeping."
"Verdure and Water in Municipal Art."

GEORGE MCANENY, 346 Broadway, New York, formerly secretary Municipal Civil Service Commission of the city of New York, and of the National Civil Service Reform League.

Subject: "Civil Service Reform in Municipal Administration."

W. H. MOULTON, Cleveland, Ohio, secretary Industrial Committee, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce; director Home Gardening Association, Cleveland.

Subjects: "Home and School Gardening."
"Civic Improvement as Promoted by Commercial Bodies"
(stereopticon).

LUCY FITCH PERKINS, Chicago, Ill., graduate of Art School, Boston Museum of Fine Arts; formerly instructor Pratt Institute Art School.

Subjects: "Modern Architecture."
"The Principles of Design as Applied to Cities" (stereopticon).

JEROME HALL RAYMOND, Chicago, Ill., formerly professor of sociology, University of Wisconsin, and president West Virginia University; now associate professor of sociology, University of Chicago, and lecturer University Extension Division.

Subjects: "Some Lessons in Municipal Housekeeping from Four European Capitals."
"Paris; the City Beautiful" (illustrated).
"London; Old and New" (illustrated).
"Berlin: The Best Governed City in Europe" (illustrated).
"Vienna; The Story of a City's Transformation" (illustrated).
"Parks and Gardens of European Capitals."
"Civic Awakening in Europe."

L. S. ROWE, professor in the University of Pennsylvania; member of the Porto Rican Code Commission appointed by President McKinley in June, 1900, and chairman of the Insular Commission appointed by the governor of Porto Rico in April, 1901. Member of the charter committee of the National Municipal League.

Subjects: "The Social Consequences of City Growth" (illustrated).
"Municipal Service and National Welfare" (illustrated).
"The Relation of the Municipality to Quasi-Public Works."
"The Requisites for Local Self-Government."

DR. JOSIAH STRONG, president League for Social Service, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York.

Subject: "Municipal Topics."

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Chicago, Ill., twenty-one years of professional and social work at Hartford and Chicago; professor of sociology Chicago Theological Seminary; founder and resident warden Chicago Commons; editor *The Commons*; member of the special Parks Commission of Chicago.

Subject: "Social and Ethical Value of Civic Improvement Movements."

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, 121 South Broad street, Philadelphia, Pa., secretary National Municipal League; president American Park and Outdoor Art Association; secretary Pennsylvania Ballot Reform Association; former secretary Public Education Association; counsel Philadelphia Municipal League and American Academy Political and Social Science; member advisory board Patriotic League; writer on municipal topics.

Subjects: "The City Beautiful."
"The Municipal Problem." (Six lectures.)
"The Ethics of Municipal Ownership."
"Municipal Progress."
"The Municipal Program."
"Public Beauty and Good Municipal Government."
"A Freer City: A Plea for Municipal Home Rule."
"The Menace of Public Service Corporations."
"Municipal Expansion."
"Business Men and Municipal Affairs."

CHARLES ZUEBLIN, Chicago, Ill., associate professor of sociology University of Chicago, and lecturer University Extension Division; member Chicago Special Park Commission; chairman Chicago School Extension Committee; writer upon municipal betterment topics.

Subjects: "Civic Improvement."
"The Ethics of Municipal Ownership."
"Public School Decoration."
"Civic Beauty."
"Parks and Playgrounds."
"American Municipal Progress" (Six lectures.)
"Public Recreation."
"British Municipal Life." (Six lectures.)
"The Difficulties of Representative Government."

Report of the Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics

By DR. EDWARD M. HARTWELL, Boston, Chairman

This Committee was constituted by the Executive Committee of the National Municipal League early in 1901. It is charged with the duty of devising a practicable scheme for securing uniform municipal accounts and statistics to conform with the provisions of the Municipal Program which was adopted by the League in 1899. The present report is in continuance of a preliminary report made in May, 1901, at Rochester. During the year, the Committee has held three meetings in New York City and one in Washington, and through conference, correspondence and special investigations of methods of accounting employed in various cities, has given much attention to the subject assigned it.

The schedules and forms which your Committee submit at this time are designed to give effect to certain principles embodied in the Municipal Program. Therefore, it seems well to consider the distinctive features of that document and to indicate the point of view and the intent of its framers.

In form the Municipal Program is a Municipal Corporation's Act; in effect it is an essay by publicists and lawyers in the domain of practical evolution. It is based on a thorough study of the present needs of the American urban community viewed in the light of its origin and history. Its framers seek to apply the laws of natural selection by so modifying the structure of city government as to enable the city to develop more highly specialized and effective functional powers.

The American roadster and the American city afford two

Evolution of American Trotter and City Contrasted. notable illustrations of the effects of natural selection modified by human agencies. Each constitutes a well-marked variety of its species. Each can be traced to a relatively simple ancestral form. In both the modifying influence of changed conditions upon inherited organs and traits is discernible. Both have acquired their most distinctive characteristics within a little more than a century, and neither seems to be threatened with extinction or even decrepitude.

The record of the American trotting horse in harness has been cut down from a mile in 3 minutes in 1818 to a mile in 2 minutes $2\frac{1}{4}$ seconds in 1901,—a decrease of $57\frac{3}{4}$ seconds in 83 years. At the same time the general level of equine capability has been raised. For instance in 1884, only Maud S. could trot a mile inside of 2.10; but by 1896 the 2.10 class included 54 trotters and 154 pacers. Thanks to the assiduity and intelligence of his breeders and trainers, and to their exemption from legislative interference, the American trotter belongs to a higher type than his forbears, and admittedly stands at the head of his class.

Not so with the American city. It has emerged slowly and incompletely from the stage of development typified by the country town. American cities have multiplied rapidly in number and grown enormously in size; but so have cities everywhere. As a class, American cities have been less successful than municipal corporations in some other parts of Christendom in adapting themselves to the demands of modern life. They appear to be suffering from retarded development. This may be owing to structural defects or to the prevalence of depressing conditions which prevent their functional powers from having full play. There is reason for thinking that both causes are operative, and that the American city must be emancipated from ill-advised and excessive legislative interference before it can develop normally.

The Municipal Program has been framed with a view to improving the existing organization of city governments, and to securing for them the most complete freedom which is compatible with their relations to the State as its agents.

The denial, by the State, of adequate power of home rule to

local authorities and inept attempts of the legislature to exercise control over the details and minutiae of local administration, are largely responsible for the unsatisfactory condition of municipal government in the United States.

In Massachusetts, well termed the Commonwealth of Cities, we find abundant evidence of an excessive amount of attention devoted by the Legislature to the local affairs of cities and towns. It would take us too far a-field to trace the development of what has become a settled policy. But it is interesting to note that in the "good Old Colony times" the constituent units of the Commonwealth were granted a larger measure of home rule than is possessed by their descendants.

Section 66 of the "Bodie of Liberties of the Massachusetts Colonic in New England," enacted in 1641, reads as follows:

"The Freemen of every Towneship shall have power to make such bylaws and constitutions as may concerne the welfare of their Towne, provided they be not of a Criminall, but onely of a prudentiall nature, . . . And that they be not repugnant to the publique laws and orders of the Countrie."

Section 66 of the Bodie of Liberties, was expanded into section 1, under "Town-ship" in "The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts" authorized in 1649, which is as follows:

"Whereas Particular Townes have many things which concerne onely themselves and the Ordering of their own affairs, and disposing of business in their own Town. It is therefore Ordered, that the freemen of every town, with such others as are allowed, or the Major part of them. Shall have power to dispose of their own Lands & Woods, with all the Priviledges and appurtenances of the said Townes, to grant Lots & also to chuse their own Particular Officers, as Constable, Surveyors for the High-wayes, and the like annually or otherwise as need Requires; And to make such Lawes and Constitutions as may Concerne the Welfare of their Town. Provided they be not of a Criminall, but of a prudentiall Nature, & that their penalties exceed not twenty shillings for one Offence, and that they be not Repugnant to the publick Lawes and Orders of the Country."

The towns of the Colony enjoyed a larger liberty in making

"By-Laws and Constitutions" relating to prudential affairs than do the towns of the State at the present day, inasmuch as town by-laws to be valid must be approved by a Judge of the Superior Court (see Revised Statutes 1902, Chap. 25, Sec. 26). This requirement was enacted at least as early as 1786.

It may also be noted that the law of 1649 contained the germ of the special legislation which has since become usual instead of exceptional. Section 5 contains this provision :

"Whereas Complaints have been made, that many (especially in Boston) who are meet and fit to serve the Country, in the Office of Constable, take encouragement to withdraw from that service by Reason of the Smallness of the fines that townes have power to impose for such Refusall, It is therefore Ordered, that henceforth it shall be Lawful for the town of Boston to impose the fine of ten Pounds, and for all other Townes, to impose the fine of five pounds upon every such person, etc."

If the statutes of Massachusetts and the charters of its cities were framed in conformity with the guiding principles of the Municipal Program, the law-givers of Massachusetts would be relieved of an onerous burden and the cities throughout the State would not only be free but forced to rely more upon themselves in the management of their local affairs.

The following statements illustrate the disproportionate amount of attention given by the Legislature of Massachusetts to local questions : In the five years from 1897 to 1901, 2,602 laws were enacted by the Legislature. Of that number 548 related to cities and 577 to towns. It may be remarked that the towns in Massachusetts are nearly ten times as many as the cities. The total enactments relating to cities and towns, taken together, equaled 43 per cent of the whole ; 220, or 8.5 per cent of all the enactments related to Boston. Again, in the period from 1898 to 1902 the average number of matters referred to the several committees of the Legislature was 1,303. Of that number 523, or 40 per cent, were referred to six committees, viz. (1) The Judiciary, (2) Metropolitan Affairs, (3) Cities, (4) Election Laws, (5) Probate and Chancery, (6) Street Railways. Two hundred and forty-five matters chiefly relating to local affairs were considered by four committees, viz., those on Cities,

Excessive Attention to Local Affairs.

on Metropolitan Affairs, on Counties, and on Towns. The average annual number of matters referred to the Committees (1) on Cities and (2) on Metropolitan Affairs was 196, or 80 per cent of all matters relating to local affairs, while the corresponding number of matters relating to the City of Boston was 93, or 38 per cent of all matters relating to local affairs. (For further illustrations, see tables in the Appendix.)

The fundamental principles embodied in the Municipal Program are these: (1) A municipal corporation should be invested with the governmental powers requisite to determine all questions of local public policy. (2) The citizens of the municipality should be free to determine their own methods of administration in local matters according to their own ideas of what will best satisfy their local needs. (3) In so far as the city is the agent of the State to enforce general laws, it should be subject to the control of administrative departments of the State, and not subject to the sport of special legislation.

If Massachusetts had adopted the Municipal Program and the cities of the Commonwealth were organized in accordance with its provisions, the situation would be as follows:

The State Legislature would be much more free than it is at present to exercise its proper function of determining matters of general policy, and would not be called on to concern itself with details of administration in the cities. Each city would enjoy large powers of self-government under a general act applicable to all cities. It would have a mayor and a city council elected on a general ticket. The mayor would serve for two years, and the members of the council for six. One-third of the whole number of councilmen would retire each year. The general policy of the city with regard to appropriations, local taxation, the assumption of new functions, etc., would be determined by the council, and the mayor would be charged, as the principal executive officer of the city, with carrying that policy into effect. He would have the power of appointing the heads of all executive departments with the single exception of the city comptroller, who would be chosen for an indefinite term of office by the council. The appointment of subordinate officials in the departmental service would rest with the mayor, subject to the provisions of the charter and the regulations of the civil service.

commission,—the civil service commission being a local board with large powers as regards regulation and control over the civil service. The "Budget" would be prepared by the mayor and submitted to the council for approval, but the latter would have no power of increasing any item in the budget.

The comptroller would be clothed with full power and responsibility of keeping expenditure of public funds within legal channels. He would audit all claims, control the book-keeping in all departments, and make financial reports to the council. It would be his business to keep separate accounts and make special reports concerning the financial transactions of every grantee of a public franchise. He would also be required by the terms of the charter to make reports of the financial operations of the city to a State comptroller or board exercising supervision over the finances of all cities. The comptroller would in effect act as the agent of the State comptroller or a State administrative board, inasmuch as the comptroller's statements concerning the financial operations of the city would be made in accordance with forms prescribed by a central authority.

The following extracts from the Corporations Act may serve to indicate the nature of the particular problem with which this Committee has had to deal :

SECTION 15 (ARTICLE II). CITY ACCOUNTS

"Every city shall keep books of account. It shall also make stated financial reports at least as often as once a year to the State Comptroller or other fiscal officer **City Accounts** in accordance with forms and methods prescribed by him, which shall be applicable to **and Comptroller's Duties Under Municipal Program.** all cities within the State. Such reports shall be certified as to their correctness by said . . . or by some competent person appointed by him. They shall be printed as a part of the public documents of the State and submitted by the . . . to the Legislature at its next regular session. Such reports shall contain an accurate statement in summarized form and also in detail of the financial receipts of the city from all sources, and of the expenditures of the city for all purposes, together with a statement in detail of the debt of the said city, at the date of said report, and of the purposes for which said debt has been incurred."

ARTICLE VI. CITY COMPTROLLER; HIS POWERS AND DUTIES.

The council shall elect, and may by resolution remove, a Comptroller who shall have a general supervision and control of all the fiscal affairs of the city to be exercised in the manner which may be by ordinance prescribed. It shall be his duty to keep the books of account and to make the financial reports provided for in Article II Section 15 of this Act. His books shall also exhibit accurate and detailed statements of all moneys received and expended for account of the city by all city officers and other persons and of the property owned by the city and the income derived therefrom. He shall also keep separate accounts of each appropriation, and of the dates, purpose and manner of each payment therefrom. . . . The City Comptroller shall, on or before the 15th day of January, in each year, prepare and transmit to the city council a report of the financial transactions of the city during the calendar year ending the 31st day of December next preceding, and of its financial condition on said 31st day of December. [The contents and nature of the report are prescribed in identically the same terms as are set forth in the last sentence of the Extract—from Article II.]

Evidently the act is intended to secure the adoption of an accurate and intelligible system of accounting, to be so ordered in practice, that the results of financial administration may be readily, promptly and convincingly presented in the form of reports that shall serve for the guidance of both city and State authorities as well as for the information of the public. It is noteworthy that the requirements respecting uniformity relate chiefly to reports. Each city comptroller may exercise more or less discretion—subject to the ordinances of the council—in respect to the technique of his bookkeeping; but all city comptrollers, in rendering their reports, are to be restricted to the use of forms prescribed by a central authority. Such measures seem well designed to bring about order, regularity and publicity in municipal accounting, and to furnish trustworthy, comparative data.

In view of the great diversity of functions exercised by departments having the same name, in different cities, your Point of View of Committee considers it inadvisable to attempt the Committee to elaborate a system of departmental book-keeping. Accordingly its endeavors have been directed primarily to devising certain general forms of summary

statement, adapted for the use of city comptrollers, in making such annual reports as are called for by the Municipal Program.

Our position, for the time being, has seemed to us somewhat analogous to that of the Local Government Board of England when called upon to furnish "Model By-Laws or a Model Auditor's Report." In other words, we have adopted the point of view of a central authority charged, firstly, with the duty of securing strictly uniform reports, by means of prescribed forms or blanks, from all cities within our jurisdiction, and secondly, with using such reports as the data for our own report to the Legislature. At the same time, we have kept in mind the requirements of the inquiring citizen, and have sought to devise forms, adapted to present use, under which orderly summaries may be made of comptroller's reports as they are now ordinarily set forth.

We submit herewith certain schedules which form a part, but only a part, of our scheme for a comptroller's report. Before presenting that scheme in its final and finished form, we wish (1) to make further trial of our schedules in connection with studies (already undertaken by various members of the Committee) of the accounts of certain typical cities; and (2) to submit the results of these studies in printed form to a number of auditors and comptrollers for criticism and suggestion.

The schedules recommended are divided into two series, A and B. Series A relates to the operations of a single year.

Character of Proposed Schedules.	Series B is intended to set forth the financial condition of the city at the end of the year in question. A-I is a consolidated statement of revenue and expenditure during the year, which shows (1) balance at the beginning of the year, (2) total revenue from all sources, (3) total expenditure during the year, (4) balance at the end of the year.
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A-II. General exhibit of revenue and expense subdivided under the heads of ordinary, extraordinary, trust funds, and temporary accounts.

A-III. Summary of receipts and disbursements by general purposes.

A-IV. Showing ordinary and extraordinary receipts and disbursements by departments, departments being arranged in

groups as they serve general purposes, e. g., general government, public safety, etc.

A-v. Shows transactions affecting the capital and income of trust funds.

A-vi. Shows transactions classed under temporary accounts or bookkeeping items.

B-i. General balance sheet showing assets and liabilities in gross.

B-ii. Shows available assets and current liabilities in greater detail than in B-i.

B-iii. Shows contingent assets and contingent liabilities in greater detail than in B-i.

B-iv. Shows fixed assets and bonded indebtedness with the purposes for which it was incurred.

These schedules, for the sake of convenience, are placed in the appendix to this report.

Schedule A-iv corresponds in the main with Schedule D, which was appended to our last report.

The City Auditor of Newton, Mass., has published a statement of receipts and expenditures for the year 1900 which conforms to that schedule; and the City Comptroller of Baltimore has done likewise for the year 1901. Schedules B and A-iv have been followed by Mr. Chase, of this Committee, in his recently published report on the "Accounts of the Town of Brookline, Mass., for 1901-02."

We present herewith a statement of* "Receipts and Expenditures of the City of Boston for the fiscal year 1900-01," prepared by the Statistics Department of that city, in which the figures are arranged, in the main, to illustrate Schedules A-D, recommended in our report of a year ago. The general features of the scheme of financial reports outlined above have been adopted in Chicago at the instance of Mr. C. W. Haskins, one of this Committee. We submit that the efforts of your Committee have begun to bear fruit already.

No provision looking to the collection and publication of municipal statistics, using that term in its scientific sense, is made in the Municipal Program. The problem of securing uni-

* Persons desiring a copy of this study may obtain it by applying to Dr. Edward M. Hartwell, 73 City Hall, Boston, Mass.—ED.

form statistics throughout any wide range of subjects is a problem of great complexity presenting many varied aspects. The domain of American municipal statistics presents such wide areas of unsettled, not to say unexplored, territory that it seems wiser to postpone ambitious schemes of extension until our home fields have been subjected to a more intensive and productive system of cultivation than has yet come to pass. In certain branches of statistics, e. g., vital statistics, financial statistics educational statistics, and the statistics of public service corporations, it seems practicable to seek for uniform returns; but to secure such returns much preliminary study and experiment is indispensable. The committee has found this problem so difficult that it is indisposed to bring forward at the present time any scheme for organizing municipal statistical offices, which should be subject to central state supervision. It therefore confines its recommendations to the schedules relating to financial statistics which have been described above.

For the Committee,

EDWARD M. HARTWELL, *Chairman.*

SCHEDULES—SERIES A

I. Consolidated Statement of Revenue and Expense for the Fiscal Year 19....

Receipts of City* from all sources	-	-	-	-
Balance at beginning of the year	-	-	-	-
 Total	-	-	-	-
Expenditures of City* for all purpose	-	-	-	-
Balance at end of year	-	-	-	-
 Total	-	-	-	-

*Should include County receipts and expenditures in many cases.

II. General Exhibit of Receipts, Appropriations and Expenditures for the Fiscal Year 19....

	Receipts	Appropriations	Expenditures
Ordinary -	• • •	• • •	• •
Extraordinary -	• • •	• • •	• • •
Trust Funds -	• • •	• • •	• • •
Temporary Accounts -	• • •	• • •	• • •
Total -	• • •	• • •	• • •

III. Summary Statement of Receipts, Appropriations and Expenditures Grouped According to Function of Departments for the Fiscal Year 19....

	Receipts		Appropriations	Expenditures	
	Ordinary	Extraordinary		Ordinary	Extraordinary
1. General Government -	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •
2. Public Safety (Protection of Life, Health and Property) -	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •
3. Public Charity and Correction -	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •
4. Public Works -	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •
5. Public Industries -	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •
6. Public Education (Recreation and Art) -	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •
7. Public Debt -	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •
8. Interest -	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •
9. Taxation -	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •
10. Miscellaneous -	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •
Total of City Accounts -	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •
Total of County Accounts †	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •
Grand Total -	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •

IV. Exhibit of Receipts, Appropriations and Expenditures of Departments, grouped under General Heads according to Function, for the fiscal year 19....

ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

I. GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

11. Mayor.
12. Legislative.
 - (a) City Council.
 - (b) City Clerk.

* Including extraordinary appropriations from loans. † In particular cases.

‡ Classified under Ordinary and Extraordinary.

- 13. Law.
- 14. Finance*.
- 15. Elections.
- 16. Public printing.
- 17. Buildings.
- 18. Registration.
- 19. Miscellaneous.

Total I

II. PROTECTION OF LIFE, HEALTH AND PROPERTY.

- 21. Police.
- 22. Fire.
- 23. Courts.
- 24. Health.
- 25. Cemeteries.
- 26. Inspection of buildings.
- 27. Militia and armories.
- 28. Miscellaneous.

Total II

III. PUBLIC CHARITY AND CORRECTIONS.

- 31. Hospitals.
- 32. Insane.
- 33. Institutions for children, aged, deaf, blind, etc.
- 34. Almshouses and workhouses.
- 35. Lodging - houses.
- 36. Out - door relief.
- 37. Jails, prisons and reformatories.
- 38. Miscellaneous.

Total III

IV. PUBLIC WORKS.

- 41. Administration expenses.
- 42. Opening, altering and grading streets.
- 43. Street paving.
- 44. Sidewalks.
- 45. Street cleaning.
- 46. Street sprinkling.
- 47. Street lighting.
- 48. Garbage collection and disposal.
- 49. Snow removal.
- 49a. Sewers and sewage disposal.
- 49b. Bridges.
- 49c. Miscellaneous.

Total IV

* All financial officers: Tax assessors, collectors, treasurers, comptroller, Board of Estimate and Apportionment.

V. PUBLIC INDUSTRIES.

- 51. Water works.
- 52. Gas works.
- 53. Electric light plants.
- 54. City real estate.
- 55. Markets.
- 56. Docks and wharves.
- 57. Transit subways.
- 58. Subways for pipes and wires.
- 59. Miscellaneous.

Total V

VI. PUBLIC EDUCATION, RECREATION AND ART.

- 61. Schools.
- 62. Libraries.
- 63. Museums and art galleries.
- 64. Parks. (a)
 - (b) Playgrounds.
 - (c) Gymnasia.
- 65. Baths.
- 66. Celebrations.
- 67. Miscellaneous.

Total VI

VII. PUBLIC DEBT.

- 71. Bonds issued.
- 72. Sinking Fund Requirements.
- 73. Direct Payment of Debt.

Total VII

VIII. INTEREST.

- 81. Interest on Taxes and Deposits.
- 82. Interest on Debt.
 - (a) Funded.
 - (b) Temporary.
- 83. Miscellaneous.

Total VIII

IX. TAXATION.

- 91. Real Property.
 - (a) Lands.
 - (b) Buildings.
- 92. Personal property.
- 93. Poll taxes.
- 94. Liquor licenses.
- 95. Franchise taxes.
- 96. Receipts from franchise rights.
- 97. Special assessments.
 - (a) Street opening.
 - (b) Street paving.
 - (c) Sidewalks.
 - (d) Sewers.
 - (e) Other purposes.
- 98. Miscellaneous.

Total IX

X. MISCELLANEOUS.

Total X . . .

Grand total I—X.

V. Trust Funds—Fiscal Year 19 . . .

Name of Fund	Receipts	Expenditures
Income of Funds - - - - -	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Total Income of Funds - - -	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Capital by Funds - - - - -	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Total Capital of Funds - - -	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Grand Total - - - - -	· · · · ·	· · · · ·

VI. Temporary Accounts—Fiscal Year 19 . . .

	Receipts	Expenditures
Temporary Tax Loans - - - - -	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Revenue credited to Sinking Funds - - -	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Refunds, etc. - - - - -	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Total - - - - -	· · · · ·	· · · · ·

SCHEDULES—SERIES B

I. A General Balance Sheet, showing Assets and Liabilities in gross.

II. A Statement of Available and Contingent Assets and Current and Contingent Liabilities, giving more detail than in I.

III. A Statement showing Fixed Assets and Bonded Indebtedness by purposes for which it was incurred.

It seems best merely to indicate the character of the proposed B Schedules, inasmuch as we have not yet found satisfactory data respecting the actual assets of any city whose accounts we have studied.

Schedule A-IV corresponds, for the most part, with Divisions I-X of Schedule D of our Rochester report, Divisions XI-XIII having been expunged or treated elsewhere.

Table I. Enactments by Massachusetts Legislature

Enactments	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	Total 1897- 1901	Aver- age
Total Number of Enactments -	530	580	481	479	532	2,602	520
Pertaining to Cities - -	115	131	100	116	86	548	110
Pertaining to Towns - -	130	121	92	107	127	577	115
Total Pertaining to Cities and Towns	245	252	192	223	213	1,125	225
Per cent Cities and Towns to Total	46	40	40	47	40	43	43
Pertaining to Boston - -	56	62	34	39	29	220	44
Per cent Boston to Cities - -	41	47	34	34	34	40	40
Per cent to Cities and Towns -	23	24	18	17	14	20	20
Per cent Boston to Total Number	11	11	7	8	6	8	8

Table II. Matters Referred: Massachusetts Legislature

Committee	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	Total 1898- 1902	Aver- age
Judiciary - - - -	151	132	149	127	126	685	137
Metropolitan Affairs - -	121	94	85	72	79	451	90
Cities - - - -	102	119	96	93	118	528	106
Elections and Election Laws -	60	59	36	53	71	279	56
Probate and Chancery - -	56	90	67	75	73	361	72
Street Railways - - -	47	36	61	103	63	310	62
Total, Six Committees - -	537	530	494	523	530	2,614	523
All Committees - -	1,377	1,181	1,242	1,351	1,362	6,513	1,303
Per cent Six Committees to All -	39	45	40	39	39	40	40
BILLS ON LOCAL AFFAIRS—							
(a) Cities - - - -	102	119	96	93	118	528	106
(b) Metropolitan Affairs - -	121	94	85	72	79	451	90
(c) Counties - - -	28	19	20	19	16	102	20
(d) Towns - - - -	29	24	34	30	26	143	29
Total Local Affairs - -	280	256	235	214	239	1,224	245
Per cent Local Bills to All Bills -	20	22	19	16	18	19	19
Local, (a) and (b) - - -	223	213	181	165	197	979	196
Per cent (a) and (b) to Total Local	80	83	77	77	82	80	80
BILLS PERTAINING TO BOSTON—							
(a) Metropolitan Affairs - -	89	64	43	29	37	262	52
(b) Cities - - -	42	46	32	37	44	201	40
Total, (a) and (b) - - -	131	110	75	66	81	463	92
(c) Elections - - -	24	21	11	11	16	83	17
Total for Boston - - -	155	131	86	77	97	546	109
Per cent Boston (a) and (b) to Total Local	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	47	43	32	31	33	38	38

Uniform Accounting Applied to Boston, Baltimore and Other Municipalities

By HARVEY S. CHASE, Boston

Member National Municipal League Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting

The subject assigned to me, "Uniform Accounting Applied to Boston, Baltimore and Other Municipalities," is capable of very broad or of quite narrow treatment, according to the point of view—broad if we attempt to consider what may be done, or even if we consider what ought to be done; but somewhat narrow, perhaps, if we restrict ourselves to what has been done already. The latter view is the one which I must take in this paper.

This narrower view is, however, not so contracted, after all, if we compare the present situation with the condition in which the practical application of our system of Uniform Municipal Accounting stood on the occasion of the League's last annual meeting at Rochester. Then we had but one practical application to point to—the City of Newton Report; now we have three printed reports, Baltimore and Brookline having been added, and also the completed schedules of three other reports, Boston, Chicago and Providence.

The most important work of the year from the point of view of improvement in municipal accounting has been that undertaken by Messrs. Haskins & Sells, certified public accountants, under contracts with the City of Chicago, in which the Program and Schedules of this League have played a conspicuous part, as Mr. Haskins, of this firm, is a member of the National Municipal League's Committee on Uniform Accounting.

The story of the results of the work at Chicago can not yet be fully told, as it will be some months before these matters are

completed and the actual value of the new methods demonstrated. When that time comes, however, and we trust that this will be before our next annual meeting, the League will naturally expect a paper upon these results, which will be of exceptional interest and importance to municipal accounting throughout the country, and even throughout the world.

Owing to the pressure of professional work, which has prevented separate treatment of my subject, I shall be obliged, with your permission, to quote in this paper very freely from a special report recently submitted by the writer to the Mayor of Boston upon the application of the League's system of uniform accounting to the financial reports of this City and to allied subjects.

Commenting upon certain general conclusions to which the writer has been led during the progress of the investigations of Boston's City Departments, the report states :

"These conclusions relate, in the first place, to the general administration of municipal affairs, and to the form and methods of organization of the city government, and in the second place to the methods of municipal accounting looked upon as a whole—as a complete system—in the same way that it is common to consider the accounting methods of our great railway corporations as complete, accurate and satisfactory systems of account.

"It is evident that these widely extended and very successful commercial corporations could never have been built up except upon a basis of absolutely accurate accounts which were so devised and systematized that concise and intelligible statements of condition (assets and liabilities) and reports of results attained (revenues and expenses) can be taken off and can be compared, and, in fact, are in practice constantly compared in all possible details with similar results in other portions of the same company's operations or with the results of other companies. In other words, the success of all great modern business enterprises is based upon the accuracy, intelligibility and conciseness of the methods of accounting and of the reports.

"It is evident that the same deductions must apply to those other great corporations—our cities—which are rapidly becoming as huge and of as great financial importance as any of the vast enterprises of the modern world.

"What is the difference between the modern city and the modern commercial enterprise? One, in most cases a con-

spicuous failure from an economic standpoint, and the other a conspicuous success; or, rather, what is the first of many differences? It is apparently this—that in the average city of this country the system of accounting and of reports is inaccurate, unintelligible and of unfathomable bulk, while in the commercial enterprise the accounting system is reliable and clear, and its reports are reduced to their lowest terms and thereby to their highest efficiency.

"It should be stated at the outset that such an unsatisfactory description of municipal accounts and reports cannot be applied in general terms to Boston. In fact, the accounts and the reports of this city, particularly the Auditor's reports, have been looked upon for many years by almost all other cities as the best examples of their kind in this country. There is no doubt that this view is correct, especially since the administration of Mayor Nathan Matthews, Jr., 1891 to 1895, during which period Boston's accounts and many of its annual reports were thoroughly overhauled and improved.

"It has been possible for many years in Boston for the inquiring citizen to obtain from his Auditor's Report accurate and intelligent statements of the revenues, appropriations and expenditures of the various departments, and these statements are so much better, so much further ahead, than the corresponding statements in the financial officers' reports of the great majority of cities, that it may appear like attempting to paint the lily to criticise the Boston reports at all or to venture to suggest improvements. Nevertheless, careful study of these reports in connection with the reports of other cities makes it evident beyond a doubt that there is one important particular in which the inquiring citizen in Boston is at the same disadvantage that he is in practically all other cities. This important particular is the alphabetical arrangement of the departments and subdivisions in the Auditor's Reports.

"With an alphabetical arrangement it will always be an impossibility to compare the results of the various departments in different cities. No two cities have, or can have, under the varying requirements of their State Legislatures, the same nomenclature for their departments and divisions, indeed it is seldom that the departments themselves are similarly constituted, and very seldom that they are both similarly constituted and similarly named. Granting this as a fact, and no one disputes it to my knowledge, and it immediately becomes evident that no comparison of the results in various cities can be made without laborious study of the situation, financial, legal and actual in each city, irrespective of the titles of the departments, and without a full understanding of the functions which each department subserves in the various cities.

"These requirements prohibit the ordinary inquiring citizen from attaining results which can be depended upon.

"Comparisons based on apparent likeness of departments and made without sufficient study, are frequently misleading and Comparisons. generally valueless. Taking all this for granted, what can be done to remedy it? It is evident, from the experience of our successful commercial enterprises referred to above, that comparisons are necessary and that it is, in fact, a most essential matter that municipal reports shall tell their stories in such a way that the average intelligent citizen can understand them with a minimum expenditure of time and trouble, that he shall be able to draw correct conclusions from them and, moreover and most important of all, that he shall be able to compare the results as set forth for any function or natural division of the government with the results as set forth for the same function or division in the reports of other cities of similar size and condition.

"This being the case, what is the requisite feature for all municipal reports? Evidently a common basis of nomenclature. An accepted standard of titles, each of which shall mean exactly the same thing in all cities. How can this be brought about? Not by the acceptance of the present nomenclature in any one city evidently, for no city has had other than its own somewhat narrow requirements in mind when its departments and subdivisions were devised. Or if devised upon a somewhat broader scale on account of the requirements and regulations of state laws which apply to all cities in one state or to all cities of the same class in that state, it is still evident that these accepted titles and functions can only be compulsorily applied to the cities in the particular state in question, while what is needed is a system which shall be applicable to all cities in whatever state they may be, and, possibly, in whatever country.

"If the acceptance of any present municipal method is not available, then we are forced to look for a broad and comprehensive system of nomenclature based upon the functions of municipal government. Such a system the National Municipal League has attempted to provide, and it is the object of this report to show how the application of this system to Boston's accounts would enable the inquiring official or citizen to make the comparisons with other cities which are so essential, without losing in any important degree the present advantages and particular adaptations of Boston's accounts to the requirements of the state laws and the municipal ordinances.

"The story of the origination and development of the National League's system is a long one which it is unnecessary to repeat here, but its practical application to city accounting has only taken place within the past year or two. One of

the first cities to provisionally adopt the system was the neighboring City of Newton, and since that time it has been applied, in whole or in part, to municipal reports in various portions of the country. The figures of the Comptroller's (or Auditor's) reports of Chicago, of Providence, of Brookline, and now of Boston, have each recently been recast in accordance with the schedules of the National League and certain of these schedules are attached hereto as exhibits."

The first important feature of these schedules is the arrangement of the summaries or statements of totals. These follow in order of importance, and precede the detailed statements in every case, i. e., first appear consolidated, summary statements. (Schedule A-I, B-I, etc.) Then subsidiary detailed statements of the items in the first schedule. Then more detailed statements of the items in the secondary schedules, and so on down to the least important details of the accounts. The next important feature of the League's system is the distinction between "revenue and expense" accounts, which are statements of the receipts and expenditures of the fiscal year, and the "balance sheet" accounts, which are statements of the condition of the city's assets and liabilities at the end of the fiscal year. The third important feature is the emphatic distinction between "ordinary" revenue and expense, and "extraordinary" revenue and expense. The former relates only to the income of the city from ordinary sources, excluding sales of bonds and other capital accounts and to the expenditure of the city for ordinary running expenses, i. e., for operation and maintenance. The latter—extraordinary—relates only to income from extraordinary sources, like borrowed money, etc., and to expenditures for permanent construction or other capital outlay.

The fourth important feature, and the one which is practically the creation of the League, is the arrangement of the totals

Arrangements of Totals. and afterward the details of the departments' accounts, not in alphabetical order, but in an order based upon the general purpose or function of each department or division of the municipal government. This arrangement is applicable to every city and town, and under it the figures of annual reports can be recast and rearranged without serious interference with the accepted methods and books in any of these cities, provided, of course, that

these methods and books are already sufficiently detailed and are accurate statements of the facts.

Nearly all cities' accounts state the individual facts correctly at present, but one trouble is that they state too many disconnected facts, while the main trouble is that the arrangement of these statements in the report is, generally, neither logical nor intelligible.

That the schedules laid out by the League are practical has been demonstrated during the past year by the application to them of the accounts of the cities already named.

Three of these cities—Boston, Baltimore and Chicago—are cities of the first class. Providence is an excellent representative of the moderate-sized municipality. Newton is typical of a very large number of small cities, while Brookline is a town—a large town, to be sure, but still an excellent example of the practicability of the application of the uniform system to town reports. Apparently, therefore, the whole scale of municipal accounts has been run during the past year, and doubtless a large majority of the intricate questions to be solved during the application of the system to practice has already been handled.

It should be stated that all of the above-mentioned applications have been looked upon by the League as preliminary, and the schedules presented by it are still considered tentative and subject to amendment and adjustment according to the needs which further practical application of them to city reports will demonstrate.

The schedules attached hereto are intended as examples of the way Boston's accounts would appear if recast according to the League's system, and only such portions of the total schedules are given as can be presented in a paper of this kind without making it too voluminous.

Before taking up these schedules, however, it seems advisable to consider the place which the annual printed statements of the separate departments should take in a general and comprehensive system of municipal reports.

It is evident that the chief financial officer's report (Comptroller or Auditor) cannot, in a large city, contain all the items of receipts and expenditures in every department of the city government without becoming utterly unwieldy and bewildering.

The Comptroller's Report should evidently deal with the facts and figures in detail only down to certain practical limits, and after that point the inquiring citizen should **Annual Reports.** be directed to the particular report of the department in question ; so that in attempting a complete system of municipal reports the interlocking of the department reports with the chief financial officer's report is an essential feature.

In regard to the present forms and arrangements of these department reports, which are issued in great numbers each year in Boston and which cost the taxpayers many thousands of dollars annually for paper and printing without any corresponding advantage being derived from them by the taxpayers, I cannot do better than to quote from Ex-Mayor Matthew's valedictory address, delivered in 1895, after administering the government of Boston for four years. He says, speaking of the condition of things previous to 1890 :

" The annual reports of the different departments I found to be much fuller than those published by most cities, but they were deficient in financial information. Statistics relating to the total cost or net results of the various public undertakings described in the reports were almost wholly lacking, and when given generally inaccurate, while the few comparative statements of annual expenditures and receipts were incomplete and misleading.

" Taking, for instance, the annual reports of the several departments for the year 1890, we find that the City Architect has nothing to say about the cost of our school-houses and other public buildings, except in respect to the payments during that particular year. The Board of Ferry Commissioners present a 'statement' of the cost of the department from the purchase of the ferries, which is several hundred thousand dollars out of the way, and a 'trial balance' worthy of the most advanced style of speculative railroad bookkeeping. The Trustees of the Public Library furnish a list of the Trustees and Examining Committees for thirty-nine years, as well as much other interesting information, but omit all mention of the millions of dollars in process of expenditure upon the new building on Dartmouth street. The report of the Board of Park Commissioners contains no table from which the amount expended in any one year or the total cost of all the separate parks can be ascertained. The report of the Water Board contains a short and insufficient, if not inaccurate statement of the 'cost of construction of the waterworks,' but not a figure concerning total

expenditures, total receipts, net cost, loans issued, changes in rates, department charges, and other facts necessary to a correct understanding of our waterworks finances; nor is there anything to show the operation of the sinking funds or the steady increase in the debt. No figures are to be found in the entire two volumes showing the cost of our hospitals, cemeteries, markets, public institutions, school houses, public grounds or public buildings.

"It may be said of the department reports, as a whole, that they contained little information of the kind described, and that such information as they did contain was always insufficient, generally inaccurate, and sometimes purposely misleading.

"This condition of affairs made it impossible for any citizen to secure, without a most laborious investigation, accurate and complete information concerning the original cost of our various public undertakings, the annual cost of the various branches of municipal service, and the probable annual revenues."

The Mayor continues: "Believing that the first duty of a public officer charged with the disbursement of millions of dollars of the public money was to search the printed reports of the city government for accounts that would show the cost from year to year of equipping and maintaining the various departments of municipal service, I was amazed to discover that practically there were none. I have, in consequence, been obliged to devote an inordinate amount of time to the work of securing this information and of arranging it in convenient form for use. The time thus spent, amounting often to several hours a day for weeks at a stretch, has, of course, left so much less for the direction of the executive business of the city. But a correct and perspicuous system of accessible accounts is the only safe foundation for a successful administration of that business, and if my successors in office and all other inquiring citizens shall hereafter be able to investigate the financial operations of the city and its various departments with reasonable rapidity, I shall feel amply compensated for the time and labor bestowed upon this branch of the public business."

Referring to the attached schedules*, A-1 gives the consolidated summary of the total receipts and expenditures for the **Schedules.** fiscal year, including all items of every character which enter into the debits and credits of the year, and also the balances of cash on hand at the beginning and at the end of the year.

*Only Schedule A-v is attached, the others referred to being included in a pamphlet published by the City of Boston, which can be had on application to the writer at 8 Congress St., Boston.

† Schedule A-II gives the large items which together make up the total receipts item in the first schedule, and these figures are arranged to accord very closely with the plan adopted by Carroll D. Wright, U. S. Commissioner of Labor, in the publications of his department in relation to the "statistics of cities" of 30,000 population and over.

† Schedule A-III gives the corresponding items which make up the total of the expenditures in the first schedule.

Schedule A-IV for the first time divides the the total revenues and expenditures into distinct catagories, "ordinary," "extraordinary," "trust funds," and "temporary accounts."

Schedule A-V takes up a more detailed study of the "ordinary" and "extraordinary" items arranged in groups according to general purposes or functions.

Schedule A-VI expands the items of the previous schedule in still more detailed figures and gets down to the revenues and appropriations and expenses by departments and divisions still grouped according to the League's system.

Schedule A-VII takes up the budgetary questions, balances forward, appropriations, additions, transfers to and from, expenditures and balances remaining, with the departments still grouped as before, and, finally,

Schedule A-VIII consists of the ultimate details of each department accounts so far as the Comptrollers' reports will deal with them, taken up in order separately, and with sufficient space given to each so that all the important divisions of expenditure, viz., salaries, expenses, rent, lighting, printing, etc., can be completely set forth.

It will be seen that the schedules progress consistently and steadily from the gross statements to the details, each schedule being an amplification of the preceding one and in complete harmony with it, and all arranged upon a definite, consistent and uniform system applicable to any and all municipal accounts so far as the League has had experience or knowledge of such accounts.

The second grand division of the schedules relates to the assets and liabilities of the city, labelled "B," and these are

† Schedules A-II and A-III are not so essential as the others, and can be omitted without interference with the general arrangement.

also logical and clear. B-1 gives the assets and liabilities in gross figures arranged to show, first, the total available assets (cash, taxes not yet collected, etc.) as against the total current liabilities (vouchers not paid, balances due on contracts, etc.) and, secondly, the contingent or doubtful assets, next the trust funds and special department accounts for which the city acts as agent or trustee, and finally, the fixed assets, and fixed liabilities, so called, consisting of the city's actual sinking funds on the asset side contrasted with total bonded debt on the liability side.

The permanent but not available assets of real estate, buildings, equipment, etc., are also stated and offset by a balance account (or surplus) which shows the excess or deficit of available assets over current liabilities and also the excess of fixed assets over bonded debts, etc.

Thus a concise and accurate statement of the financial condition of the city at the end of the year is given at a glance. The succeeding "B" schedules are amplifications of the items in this first schedule and may be carried out into any details which are considered important by the officials in any particular city.

The divisions of the present Auditor's report in Boston are so intelligently arranged that the department totals fall comparatively easily into the categories of the League's system and require but few changes inside the department totals, so that persons familiar with the gross figures can readily recognize them in their new positions. In fact, the change in position is the only very marked change in the new report, other than the arrangement of summaries first and details afterward, and the emphasis placed upon "ordinary" and "extraordinary."

In other cities, Chicago for example, the work of many weeks of unremitting application was required to satisfactorily readjust the figures of the Comptroller's report so as to represent the facts in the order prescribed by the League's schedules, and then to balance them and prove them correct. In Baltimore the work was done by the Comptroller, Mr. James H. Smith, who followed the general arrangement of the Newton schedule, and while working independently of the League's committee was yet in perfect accord therewith.

As an interesting example illustrative of what may be done after the "uniform system" has been applied to various cities,

Comparative Table. I have drawn up a table comparing the ordinary expenditures of Boston for the past fiscal year, 1901-02, and also for the previous year, 1900-01,

with the corresponding expenditures of Chicago for 1900, and with those of Baltimore for 1901, with Providence for 1900, with Newton for 1900, and with Brookline for 1901; these being the years for which schedules had been already prepared.

This table sets forth the actual expenditures of the departments of each city in dollars and also the percentage of the total disbursements in each city that was expended by each group of departments; viz., General Administration, Public Safety, Public Charity, etc.

In comparing those percentages, however, the ratios of the total expenditures of the cities to each other must not be forgotten. For instance, in Chicago, by the table, 31 per cent of the total ordinary expenditures were on account of Schools, while in Boston by the table only 18 per cent of the totals were for the same object. When we note, however, that the total ordinary expenditures of Chicago were \$19,059,281.10, while Boston's total was \$22,417,858.71, or 117 per cent of Chicago's total, it is then evident that the 31 per cent spent for schools in Chicago was relatively less than the 18 per cent spent in Boston, i.e., less per capita and less in comparison with the total wealth of the cities respectively.

Many other interesting features of these comparisons could be pointed out, but the space required would be too great, and I therefore submit the schedules and tables as they stand without further comment, for your consideration.

SCHEDULE A-v of the Uniform System of the National Municipal League applied to the Annual Financial Report of the City of Boston, for the fiscal year 1901

	RECEIPTS		APPROPRIATIONS	EXPENDITURES	
	ORDINARY	EXTRA-ORDINARY		ORDINARY	EXTRA-ORDINARY
1. General Government	\$21,089 36		\$1,262,402 40	\$1,254,310 36	\$69,457 68
2. Public Safety (Protection of Life, Health and Property)	44,850 29	\$21,134 00	3,568,933 76	3,568,856 60	175,369 01
3. Public Charity and Correction	254,979 82		1,924,100 00	1,504,286 99	213,984 11
4. Public Works	170,694 99	291,976 96	7,529,970 06	3,679,490 89	5,082,405 43
5. Public Industries	2,969,119 84	7,548,237 76	1,974,737 50	3,176,058 28	382,559 11
6. Public Education, Recreation and Art	49,246 29	10,748 00	5,673,774 02	4,005,717 83	1,091,557 73
7. Public Debt		5,971,200 00	1,730,803 00	1,859,529 29	7,531,000 00
8. Interest	385,227 71		2,080,000 00	2,127,638 62	
9. Taxation	20,064,790 77	425,413 04	100,000 00	1,040,966 64	
10. Sundries	23,010 36				
County	\$23,983,009 43	\$14,268,709 76	\$25,844,720 74	\$22,216,855 50	\$14,546,333 07
	233,814 24		1,469,093 00	1,276,662 42	194,473 79
Trust Funds	\$24,216,823 67	\$14,268,709 76	\$27,313,813 74	\$23,493,517 92	\$14,740,806 86
Temporary Accounts	68,327 76			162,959 39	
	14,903,692 02			14,903,692 02	
	\$39,188,843 45	\$14,268,709 76	\$27,313,813 74	\$38,560,169 33	\$14,740,806 86

SCHEDULE A-v of the Uniform System of the National Municipal League, applied to the Annual Financial Report of the City of Chicago, for the fiscal year 1900

	RECEIPTS		APPROPRIATIONS	EXPENDITURES	
	ORDINARY	EXTRA-ORDINARY		ORDINARY	EXTRA-ORDINARY
1. General Government	\$2,190 10	\$314 00	\$937,474 33	\$831,235 14	
2. Public Safety (Protection of Life, Health and Property)	365,000 82	308 40	5,596,199 82	5,286,291 40	\$93,474 89
3. Public Charity and Correction	59,219 78		189,811 60	184,811 60	
4. Public Works	105,145 85	543 21	2,801,132 28	2,075,138 50	272,570 95
5. Public Industries	3,997,253 90	15,802 46	3,519,759 06	1,772,018 46	820,632 64
6. Public Education, Recreation and Art	372,531 20	1,864 78	9,630,992 39	5,908,266 31	659,826 14
7. Public Debt			364,000 00		
8. Interest	5,466 90	*	906,600 00	1,061,505 11	
9. Taxation	20,509,708 68		365,529 00	300,096 08	
10. Sundries	5,849 15	2,140 08	33,869 58	1,639,918 50	
	\$25,422,366 38	\$20,972 93	\$24,345,368 06	\$19,059,281 10	\$1,846,504 62

SCHEDULE A-v of the Uniform System of the National Municipal League, applied to the Annual Financial Report of the City of Baltimore, for the fiscal year 1901

	RECEIPTS		APPROPRIATIONS	EXPENDITURES	
	ORDINARY	EXTRA-ORDINARY		ORDINARY	EXTRA-ORDINARY
1. General Government	\$6,050 37			\$643,361 71	\$5,151 60
2. Public Safety (Protection of Life, Health and Property)	4,096 62	\$1,061 51		1,844,345 26	24,116 29
3. Public Charity and Correction	20,868 53			357,660 68	
4. Public Works	24,929 75	1,810 00		1,123,906 22	52,422 09
5. Public Industries	1,100,946 80	796 32		890,358 87	177,617 98
6. Public Education, Recreation and Art	317,048 14	15 56		1,643,613 09	52,681 36
7. Public Debt		210,000 00		1,355,181 53	
8. Interest	555,883 81			1,179,751 99	
9. Taxation	6,076,911 87	77,436 83		63,854 68	
10. Sundries	50,214 64				
	\$8,765,950 53			\$9,102,034 03	\$311,989 32
Trust Funds	47,098 88	\$291,120 22		46,451 00	
Temporary Accounts	1,348,431 93			1,348,431 93	
	\$10,161,481 34	\$291,120 22		\$10,496,916 96	\$311,989 32

SCHEDULE A-v of the Uniform System of the National Municipal League, applied to the Annual Financial Report of the City of Providence, for the fiscal year 1900

	RECEIPTS		APPROPRIATIONS	EXPENDITURES	
	ORDINARY	EXTRA-ORDINARY		ORDINARY	EXTRA-ORDINARY
1. General Government	\$125 34			\$197,624 88	
2. Public Safety (Protection of Life, Health and Property)	353 16	\$26,841 76		804,257 39	\$6,969 20
3. Public Charity and Correction	5,805 99			34,195 26	498 17
4. Public Works	58,268 23			855,364 42	289,454 14
5. Public Industries	582,761 96	8,730 33		111,037 73	46,934 95
6. Public Education, Recreation and Art	50,430 16			789,299 48	44,476 48
7. Public Debt		1,111,550 55		1,118,644 13	
8. Interest	51,671 20			762,471 16	
9. Taxation	3,477,244 80	74,579 69		386,372 65	
10. Sundries	28,901 35				
	\$4,255,562 19	\$1,221,702 33		\$5,059,267 10	\$388,332 94
Trust Funds	400 13			2,636 68	
Temporary Accounts	4,141,000 00			4,141,000 00	
	\$8,396,962 32	\$1,221,702 33		\$9,202,903 78	\$388,332 94

SCHEDULE A-V of the Uniform System of the National Municipal League, applied to the Annual Financial Report of the City of Newton, for the fiscal year 1900

	RECEIPTS		APPRO- PRIATIONS	EXPENDITURES	
	ORDINARY	EXTRA- ORDINARY		ORDINARY	EXTRA- ORDINARY
1. General Government	\$238 26			\$81,973 56	
2. Public Safety (Protection of Life, Health and Property)	6,193 83	\$509 22		161,997 82	\$12,394 19
3. Public Charity and Correction	7,724 90			35,684 37	18,495 19
4. Public Works	1,060 44	4,075 00		251,037 41	141,244 89
5. Public Industries	130,517 15	65,830 10		20,517 44	26,050 30
6. Public Education, Recreation and Art	186 38			212,656 77	99,544 41
7. Public Debt	70,689 19	100,059 84		218,103 46	
8. Interest	1,049,897 31	68,378 57		259,408 67	
9. Taxation				94,642 43	
10. Sundries					
Trust Funds	\$1,266,507 46	\$238,852 73		\$1,336,021 93	\$292,729 18
Temporary Accounts.	1,818 65 895,550 00			1,487 65 775,550 00	
	\$2,163,876 11	\$238,852 73		\$2,113,059 58	\$292,729 18

SCHEDULE A-V of the Uniform System of the National Municipal League, applied to the Annual Financial Report of the Town of Brookline, for the fiscal year 1901

	RECEIPTS		APPRO- PRIATIONS	EXPENDITURES	
	ORDINARY	EXTRA- ORDINARY		ORDINARY	EXTRA- ORDINARY
1. General Government	\$64 50		\$72,159 79	\$43,966 03	\$22,012 37
2. Public Safety (Protection of Life, Health and Property)	624 74		168,050 00	141,594 84	6,433 37
3. Public Charity and Correction	5,105 93		97,500 00	18,399 20	46,516 02
4. Public Works	24,556 17		340,325 48	219,273 41	74,432 31
5. Public Industries	79,539 63		84,285 32	23,500 85	29,050 16
6. Public Education, Recreation and Art	8,901 40		567,521 10	107,241 33	225,144 78
7. Public Debt		\$234,000 00	160,011 00	160,011 00	
8. Interest	6,577 14		55,650 83	53,017 74	
9. Taxation	1,053,080 53	170 68	105,746 89	106,156 15	
10. Sundries			900 00	900 00	
Temporary Accounts.	\$1,179,149 13 250,000 00	\$234,170 68	\$1,652,159 41	\$64,960 55 250,000 00	\$403,589 01
	\$1,429,149 13	\$234,170 68	\$1,652,159 41	\$1,214,066 55	\$403,589 01

Comparative Table of Expenditures of Six Municipalities,
whose Annual Reports have been recast according to
the Uniform System of the National Municipal League.

Ordinary Expenditures Given in Percentages

	BOSTON	CHI-CAGO	BALTIMORE	PROVIDENCE	NEWTON	BROOK-LINE
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. General Government .	5 $\frac{6}{100}$	4 $\frac{38}{100}$	7 $\frac{7}{100}$	3 $\frac{9}{100}$	6 $\frac{13}{100}$	4 $\frac{56}{100}$
2. Public Safety (Protection of Life, Health and Property) .	16 $\frac{6}{100}$	27 $\frac{74}{100}$	20 $\frac{26}{100}$	15 $\frac{9}{100}$	12 $\frac{12}{100}$	14 $\frac{67}{100}$
3. Public Charity and Correction	6 $\frac{77}{100}$	9 $\frac{9}{100}$	3 $\frac{93}{100}$	8 $\frac{8}{100}$	2 $\frac{67}{100}$	1 $\frac{91}{100}$
4. Public Works	16 $\frac{56}{100}$	10 $\frac{50}{100}$	12 $\frac{58}{100}$	16 $\frac{9}{100}$	18 $\frac{79}{100}$	22 $\frac{78}{100}$
5. Public Industries . .	14 $\frac{29}{100}$	9 $\frac{30}{100}$	9 $\frac{75}{100}$	2 $\frac{19}{100}$	1 $\frac{53}{100}$	2 $\frac{44}{100}$
6. Public Education, Recreation and Art .	18 $\frac{3}{100}$	31	18 $\frac{6}{100}$	15 $\frac{80}{100}$	15 $\frac{98}{100}$	20 $\frac{44}{100}$
7. Public Debt	8 $\frac{37}{100}$	0	14 $\frac{89}{100}$	22 $\frac{12}{100}$	16 $\frac{82}{100}$	16 $\frac{59}{100}$
8. Interest	9 $\frac{55}{100}$	5 $\frac{57}{100}$	12 $\frac{96}{100}$	15 $\frac{8}{100}$	19 $\frac{42}{100}$	5 $\frac{59}{100}$
9. Taxation	4 $\frac{69}{100}$	1 $\frac{57}{100}$	7 $\frac{70}{100}$	7 $\frac{64}{100}$	7 $\frac{8}{100}$	11
10. Sundries	8 $\frac{60}{100}$					9 $\frac{100}{100}$

The City as a Business Corporation

By **LAURENCE MINOT**, Boston
Chairman, Boston Statistics Department

I am asked to address you on "The City as a Business Corporation." It is a subject of vital importance, touching each one of us daily in our industries and in our homes. Yet the importance of it is scarcely realized, and we are prone to dismiss it from our thoughts with the somewhat trite saying that "death and taxes are inevitable."

To realize the part which city government plays in our daily life, it is well to consider the reason of its existence and the nature of its functions. It is the earliest **Community of Interest.** example of that "community of interest" of which we have recently heard so much. When two or more people are gathered together, there exist common needs. These needs may be roughly divided into two classes: First, the need of things to be used in common, and, second, the need of things to be used by each person separately. Things used in common, such as roads, courts of justice, police protection, street lights, are provided by the town or city government. Things which all need, but which each uses separately, such as fuel, groceries, clothing, are supplied by private enterprise. If these needs are grouped into (1) those which must be paid for by general contribution, and (2) those which must be paid for by the individual whose needs are filled, it will be seen that the grouping is not materially different from that first suggested. It would be impracticable for each citizen to pay for the street lights only when he used them, or to contribute to the policeman's salary only when he needed his protection. It would scarcely accord with our ideas that there should be a general tax for living expenses, and that each man should help himself from the common stock of groceries, clothing and fuel.

Broadly speaking, therefore, the function of government is to supply those things which are used in common, and which must be paid for by general contribution. Some things fall inevitably into this class, and be the government good or bad, it is the only agency which can supply them. But the majority of our wants, as, for instance, schools, water-supply, bridges, libraries, hospitals, can be supplied in some measure by private enterprise. If the government is wisely and prudently administered, it can supply these wants far better and far more economically than private enterprise. Essentially, therefore, the city government is a labor-saving machine,—an agency, whose reason for being is the economy it affords. Even a bad machine saves us something. Let us make it a good machine, nay more, a perfect machine, and immediately its field of usefulness will broaden in proportion to the saving it effects. Good government lies at the foundation of our industrial activity and of our personal comfort.

It is our business to-day to inquire if we have built this foundation with the same thoroughness, if we maintain and

Directors of protect it with the same care, as we have built
Public and and as we maintain the superstructure of pri-
Private vate enterprise. Let us examine and compare
Corporations. our standards and our efficiency in public and
in private enterprises. It is a generally accepted
fact that a private corporation to be successful must be managed
by able and honest men, must pursue a wise and far-reaching
policy, must avail itself of every resource of science, experience
and study and of those economies which are only possible for
those who build on a large scale and with an eye to the future.
Can we say that our cities are managed by able and efficient
men? Compare, on the one hand, the directors of our leading
banks, railroads, telephone or manufacturing companies; on the
other hand the members of our city councils. Of the one we
can say that they are picked men, of established reputation,
thorough training and liberal education, the leading men of the
community. Which of us would not be glad to elect our city
councils from among these men? Which of us would for a
moment consider choosing the directors of these private cor-
porations from among the members of our city councils? Yet

the existence of the city is a necessary preliminary to the life of these corporations, and the wise conduct of city affairs is an integral part of the wise conduct of private enterprises.

Consider, again, the executive departments. In a private corporation, the great mass of employees are chosen for their efficiency, are paid the full value of their services, and above all, are reasonably sure that good and faithful work will be recognized and adequately rewarded. In the city, employees are too often chosen for other reasons than fitness, are often paid more than the fair value of their services, and, what is perhaps worse, the good men are paid much less than they could obtain in private positions. Good and faithful work is by no means always recognized, and only in rare instances is it adequately rewarded. There is literally no office in the gift of the city capable of permanently attracting any man of unusual ability, in comparison with the opportunities offered in private life. I have intimated that we should be glad to choose our city councils from among the directors of our leading corporations. Perhaps I should qualify this statement, for while these men bring to the positions they now occupy a special training and experience, they are ignorant of city affairs, and this ignorance would be felt in many ways if they were entrusted with the administration of them. What we ought to do is to make the conditions of employment in public life such that the best of our young men would be attracted to it, in preference to private employment, and such as would enable them to receive that special experience and training in the affairs of government which would fit them in time for the higher positions.

Whoever is minded to invest in a private corporation looks first to the men who are to manage it, and next to the condition of its assets and liabilities. What do
Assets of a City. we know of public assets and liabilities. There may be a few men in Boston, for instance, who know what the debt of the City amounts to, but they are only a few, and they are not agreed about it. There is probably no one, in the City government or out of it, who knows what the City's assets are, what they cost, or what they are worth. The streets, sewers, parks, buildings and other property of

the City represent the plant which is necessary for the community life of a certain number of people. The cost of the plant needed for a city of one, two or five hundred thousand people should be as accurately known as the cost of the machinery necessary to manufacture one, two or five hundred thousand yards of cotton, or the cost of a railroad adapted to the transportation of one, two or five hundred thousand people. The cost of increasing the plant should be as accurately known, and it should be known, too, to what extent it is wise to build for present needs, and to what extent it is wise to build for the future. The difference of cost due to advantages or disadvantages of location or due to the increasing complexity of life in large cities, should be known as accurately. The cost of maintenance of each department in every city of the country, having regard to the service rendered, should be so well known as to be axiomatic, and the expense in one city should be comparable with that in every other. We should know how much is saved to the community by every public service rendered, and the cost of this service should be so apportioned as to fall on those who effect the saving. But of all these matters we are profoundly ignorant.

In the keen competition of business we cannot afford to neglect any element of success or of economy. I submit that the administration of our city affairs is a part, and a fundamental part, of the administration of every private business in that city, and that our failure to secure honest, thorough and scientific administration of city affairs; our failure to secure low taxation and efficient service, is a constant drain on our resources, the extent of which we underestimate only because we are familiar with it.

One thing which tends to obscure the importance of the problem is that we limit our view to the city in which we live. If our taxes are high; if the public **Limited View.** money is wasted; if our streets are congested; if our property is inadequately protected from fire, we are handicapped, it is true; but our neighbor is equally so. Our competitor across the street is as badly handicapped as we are. It is only when we enlarge our horizon—when we come into competition with other communities—that we realize our

position. Then the contrast becomes striking, and instantly we realize that the merchant and the manufacturer, seeking a place to establish his business, takes these things into account ; that the workingman, seeking a place to work and to live in, takes these things into account, and that in very truth they are the foundation and prerequisite of our prosperity.

I predict that those "Captains of Industry" who are first to realize that the public business is their business ; that they must take hold of it and manage it with a single eye to the public good ; that they must bring to it their highest standards of ability, honesty and wisdom, will outdistance their competitors who are willing to leave the city to the politicians so long as things are not too bad and taxes are not too high.

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Banquet Speeches

The banquet tendered by the Boston Committee of Arrangements to the delegates to the National Municipal League was held in Hotel Brunswick, Boston, with Alfred Hemenway, Esq., acting as toastmaster:

Mr. HEMENWAY: The organizations which you represent are so many and so various that I am at a loss to know how to address you. I am in the condition of the minister who officiated at a double wedding. Two sisters were to be married. They thought it would be an excellent idea to have the service read and each bride to respond in unison, and the bridegrooms to do the same. It proceeded well until it was necessary to speak the words, "I now pronounce you man and wife." For the first time the minister saw that the formula failed. Waiting for a moment, it occurred to him that he had solved the difficulty, and he said, solemnly, "I now pronounce you, one and all, husband and wife." So I, following the precedent, salute and welcome you one and all. [Laughter.]

When Prince Henry was here, we are told by Admiral Evans, the one speech that particularly pleased him was that of Mayor Low, in graceful words presenting to him the freedom of the City of New York. Well, our Mayor, with equal grace, could have presented you all with the freedom of our city, but he has too much knowledge of and respect for the law to do any such thing, for he knows that the freedom of the city has no place in American law. It is simply the gold brick of municipal hospitality. It is anise seed and not a fox. So we have welcomed you more properly, for in Boston we are sticklers for propriety. We are like the Frenchman who was remonstrated with for going to a dinner-party so soon after the death of his brother. He admitted the fact, but palliated it on the ground that he ate only the dark meats. And yet it would be pleasanter to travel with the freedom of the city than it seemed to the English prisoner who, having been convicted and sentenced, was told by the judge that if he behaved himself well there would be an abatement of his term of imprisonment, and not only that, but when he was discharged he would receive a ticket-of-leave certifying to his good behavior while in prison. "Well, Judge," said he, "wouldn't that be a pretty thing to travel with!"

The Shah of Persia, when in London, attended a ball, and when he saw the vigor of the dancing he inquired: "Could you not make your servants do this for you?" So from me there is no speech and no thought required. I can make others speak; it is much easier and pleasanter, and those who are to speak have no text given them. For the after-dinner speaker is like the young minister whose friend told him, after hearing the sermon, that if his text had had a contagious disease the sermon wouldn't have caught it. So the

speakers are as free as a friend of mine who gave up smoking. He made a resolution on New Year's day that he would smoke no more. The next day his wife found him smoking. Somewhat petulantly she said: "I wouldn't be the slave of a habit." "No," said he, "and I wouldn't be the slave of a resolution." So they who are to speak to-night can speak upon anything touching civic betterment, anything pertaining to the administration or the charters of any city, from that earliest charter granted to the City of Leon, in Spain, in 1020, to the last amendment of the last charter.

But I fear I shall be drawn aside into a speech, and I turn to the program the more willingly, for I remember in the diary of Tennyson he says that when he met Swinburne he liked him, and he liked him all the better because he did not impose upon him any of his own composition. It is natural for a lawyer to follow precedent; it is his instinct, his education and his habit. And so to-night, repressing any words of eulogy that spring unbidden to my lips when I think of your President, I have turned to the preface in a law-book, which I have copied and I will read to you as a prelude to Mr. Carter's remarks:

"Dedication. To an old and honored friend, James Coolidge Carter, of New York, who, throughout a professional career which has placed him high among the leaders of the bar of the United States, has never been wanting in the larger interests of his profession and his country when wisdom, eloquence and generous courage might serve them, this book is offered as a tribute of respect and gratitude."

Is that not a perfect pen portraiture? Is it not that of the ideal lawyer and the ideal citizen? We all join, Mr. Carter, in that dedication. [Applause.]

MR. CARTER: *Mr. Toastmaster*—I am very much obliged to you for the very handsome, too handsome, manner, in which you have introduced me to this company of ladies and gentlemen, and also for the many entertaining stories you have told us. I shall endeavor to remember all of them and use all of them again whenever I am called upon to speak for the next six months or a year, unless you have a copyright.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have talked so much during the past two or three days and imposed myself to such an extent upon several distinct audiences that I am unwilling to do it again to any considerable extent, and the observations that I shall allow to fall from my lips upon this occasion will be very few. I, in common with all the other delegates of the National Municipal League, have extremely enjoyed this visit to your goodly city. We have seen what we do not always see in every city in which our conferences are held—we have seen everything to delight us, and nothing to displease us. We have come to your city at a most delightful period of the year, when everything is smiling, your streets clean and in order, your beautiful public garden bursting with beauty, and everything betokening a well-ordered city. This is all very delightful to us, and to me it is something more than delightful. I take a pride in it, and I think I have a right to take a pride in it as

well as you, or to some extent as well as you, for I am a bit of a Boston boy myself.

Old men like myself, who do not find a great deal of comfort in looking forward to the future, are sometimes inclined to turn backward upon the past and reflect upon what they call the active period of their lives. That period with me was from the age of thirteen to sixteen, and was passed in the City of Boston. My time was occupied in running to fires, supervising the operations of Engine Company No. 7, under the old volunteer system, watching from time to time the curious proceedings and conflicts of lawyers in the courts of justice, and devoting the residue of my time to the varied service I was called upon to perform in my employer's store. And if I succeeded in performing all those things and keeping him from grumbling overmuch, for he seemed to think, for some reason or other, that he was entitled to the unremitting devotion of my time and talents—if I succeeded in keeping him silent I think you will agree with me that that must have been a most active life.

Boston is a very different city from what it was when I knew it. The ancient geographers bounded the known world by giving the names of some settled countries and then saying that all beyond was a wild desert, inhabited by wild beasts. Now, in my time, the boundary of Boston on this western side was Charles street and all beyond was a desolate waste of water and swamp, where men and boys used to go to catch smelts and shoot "peeps." That was the very occupation or amusement which was performed on the spot on which we are now sitting,—such has been the growth and development of Boston. The old part of the city, every nook, every alley and every corner in it, was, and I think I may almost say is, still familiar to me, but this new part, why, I have lost myself in it a half dozen times during the two or three days that I have been here on this visit.

Now we have been here engaged on very serious business, and sufficient time has not elapsed to justify me, Mr. Toastmaster, in repeating your jokes. I must say before I sit down a single serious word, for it is a very serious business upon which we have been engaged. You good people of Boston—for there are a good many here that do not belong to the National Municipal League—you good people of Boston do not exactly know the condition of what is known to many of us as municipal degradation. Those of us who are so fortunate or unfortunate as to come from the City of Baltimore or the City of Philadelphia, or the City of Pittsburg, or the City of Chicago, or the City of St. Louis, or any one of fifty cities which I might enumerate, know a very different state of things, alas! from that which exists in Boston. I am not speaking the language of compliment now; I am speaking the language of truth. You have a reasonably good city government, I take it. The external appearance of your city is good evidence of that. We have it from your own Mayor in an address, in the short address of welcome which he made to the League—What are you laughing about? Isn't his word good evidence? I am sure it is. He has the opportunity of knowing. He told us, and I believe it, that he knew of no such thing as absolute corruption, plunder, speculation, thievery in the administration of public affairs.

You may not think that is a great thing. You may think that crimes like that are so enormous that they are not to be thought of, and you do not think of them, very likely, in connection with the administration of the city's affairs here. But in other parts of our country they are the common spectacle; they are of every-day exhibition, and in all forms of misgovernment, misconduct, corruption, bribery, maladministration of various kinds. Those are the conditions to which a great many of us are accustomed, and therefore you will see why we consider this to be a very serious piece of business. Let me say to you, however, that if you are now free from these more odious forms of misgovernment and maladministration, you have not always been so completely free. There have been times, as I have heard upon good evidence, in the municipal history of Boston, when very many serious charges of a nature such as I have already alluded to might have been brought against the government with some show of reason and with good evidence to support them; and if you are now and have been within the last ten or fifteen years more free from them here than heretofore, you are indebted to it in part, let me tell you, to that aroused interest in good city government which has been awakened by organizations of the character of this League, organizations of this character, having a great variety of names, being in truth so numerous and having such different names that it was impossible for your toastmaster to enumerate them in his speech, and therefore he adopted the phraseology of "one and all." Those that are in immediate affiliation with the National Municipal League amount to something like one hundred and twenty and those that are not in direct affiliation with it, but which have similar objects, and are in communication and correspondence and coöperation with it, amount to something like six hundred more. These organizations, by their combined efforts and by their constant appeals to the citizens of the several cities of the United States—the one hundred or more principal cities of the United States—have done much to awaken and arouse that general interest in public civic municipal affairs the benefits of which are already felt to a very considerable extent all over the country, and which are now being felt and will continue to be felt if we do our duty more and more in the future. It is, let me say to you, citizens of Boston, to this aroused feeling—this aroused attention to municipal affairs; the determination to hold municipal officers to a just responsibility and the resolve not to allow partisan polities to govern you in your action completely; the determination whenever a candidate of any political party is presented who is not worthy of your vote to vote against him, no matter how nearly you may be allied to him in your convictions upon questions of national and state politics—it is to that tendency of the present time—to that resolution—that we owe whatever improvement has already been effected, and from which you will continue to get any future improvement; and unless that spirit is cherished, unless that determination is persisted in, and unless this attention to and interest in municipal affairs continues to be exhibited by you, you will soon find the municipal administration of your own city, of which you are now proud, and justly proud, will decline, will degenerate, and will become a shame and a disgrace.

Now, a single word more before I close, and that by way of practical suggestion as to your conduct—the conduct of all of us. We must ask ourselves, when we see this spectacle of municipal disorder, degradation and shame; the pilfering of public money; the open sale of public franchises for considerations received by private citizens who have the power through their political influence to manipulate them; the corrupt alliance of the police with criminals; protection extended by officers whose duty it is to enforce the law; protection extended to the breakers of the law, and all these things, common in different parts of the country—who is responsible for them? Who is responsible for them? Well, you may say the officials who are thus derelict in their duty—the municipal officers who thus betray their trusts—they are the responsible ones. But is that really the true answer to be given? I have no doubt that very many of you are well supplied with stocks of various kinds, representing investments in profitable commercial and manufacturing enterprises. You look to me as if you had; I hope you have. Let me suppose that on some occasion some dividend-paying stock which you happen to own fails to return its dividend. You are anxious to know the reason. You go to the office of the company and you find that the concern is insolvent. You see the president, the board of directors, and you ask them: "What is the reason of all this? I am not receiving my dividends and I am told that my property is all lost." The answer that they give may be this: "Yes, your property is gone, and the reason of it is the outrageous misconduct of our employees and servants here. The truth is the man who has been in the habit of buying our materials has been paying excessive prices for them, probably by collusion with the sellers; our superintendent has been making up styles of goods not suited to the public demand, and we can not get rid of them. The warehouse is full of them; they are not worth half of what they cost. Our treasurer has been engaged for the past year in stock-gambling in State street or Wall street and running a racing stable, and has stolen every month from five to ten thousand dollars. That is the reason of it."

Well, are you satisfied with that explanation? Don't you turn upon him and say, "Wretch of a president and director, how is that you have allowed these men to remain in their places when you have seen what their misconduct was?" That is your answer to him.

Now how is it with the public service? When you say that the mischief results from the misconduct of municipal officers it only raises the question, "Who has the power of removing them?" and it is ourselves. So that I have to say to you that the observation that I have often heard that we have just as good municipal government as we are entitled to, is perfectly true, absolutely true everywhere. The people of every city in this Union have just as good municipal service as they are entitled to. And if there is any wrong lasting for any considerable time,—bribery, corruption, neglect, collusion, any of the vices which creep into municipal service, it is we who are responsible for them. I do not mean to say that the officers are guiltless, no; but when you come to the ultimate, the real, the true cause and the

true responsibility, it rests with those who have the power of election and removal.

That suggests our duty very plainly. All we have got to do to have a reasonably good administration of municipal affairs is, not to go to the Legislature to get new charters and new laws, that will accomplish very little; not to adopt improved or better methods of administration; that will accomplish very little unless you have the right men in office; but if you have the right men in office, no matter what laws you have, no matter whether improved methods or not, if you have the right men in office you will have good results; and if you have the best laws and the best methods and the wrong men you will have poor results in every instance.

It comes right to the point of the selection of those officers, and I hold it to be the duty of all good citizens to attend to that; never to sacrifice the municipal interests in favor of any other political interest, never to sacrifice the good order and the welfare of your city in favor of some dream of benefit in national politics, but always when it comes to the choice of your municipal servants to see to it that they are the right men. And you must adopt the right method of choosing them; and the right method of choosing them, which if you adopt you will never make any mistake, is to sink all other questions except the single one of how the municipal affairs may be best conducted. Leave out of view all Republicanism, leave out of view all the interests of the Democratic party, let them take care of themselves. They have no concern with municipal politics. If it is necessary, organize and form municipal parties which will absolutely control in the election to municipal office, and which you can do with much greater ease than you think if you only make the experiment. Or, if you do not do that, practice in all instances that independent voting which utterly disregards the claims of the national or state political organizations and consults the interests of the city alone. [Applause.]

MR. HEMENWAY. The Boston that you have seen, and which is a well-governed and beautiful city, is unlike that Boston of long ago which Mr. Carter has described; but I trust you will not forget that there is a third Boston which has been wittily described as "a state of mind." I know that you are now anxious to hear from your Secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, whose splendid service has made the success of this League largely possible, and I bespeak for him a cordial greeting. [Applause.]

MR. WOODRUFF: After three days of such serious consideration as we have been giving to such a serious problem, it is perhaps only proper that the injunction which the local committee laid upon the speakers to-night should be observed in all sincerity, namely, that serious topics should be avoided and only the lighter phases considered. That is rather a serious and heavy injunction to lay upon those who have the municipal problem so seriously at heart as have the members of the National Municipal League, and for those who are accustomed from time to time to speak upon it.

It is a very serious injunction to lay upon me, for I very well remember a

personal experience which I had within the last three or four years that has made me exceedingly chary of dealing in anything of a light or fanciful character on occasions of this kind. In the early days of the League I always tried to have a story prepared for an occasion of this kind, and I told one once, which, by the way, Mr. Toastmaster, had its origin in this city and from no less a personage than Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. It was reported in the proceedings of the National Municipal League and thus gained a permanent place in the literature of municipal reform.

Some two or three years after its deliverance I happened to meet in Philadelphia a gentleman who was a candidate for an important office upon a so-called reform platform. He said that he had given very careful consideration to all that those who were genuinely interested in the welfare of the city and the advancement of the city had said, and among other books he had purchased the proceedings of the National Municipal League, and I remember with what unction he told me how he had told this particular story, and with what success it had been received in various parts of the city. But I regret to relate, Mr. Chairman, that since telling the story that gentleman has served two years and a half in the penitentiary in Philadelphia, and so I fear lest I should tell another story and it should be repeated as that one was, that the results might be equally disastrous to those who repeat it. That has no application, however, to Mr. Carter and his threatened use of the stories which you have so delightfully told us this evening.

If the time were opportune, to speak in a serious way, I should like to say a word concerning what might be called the two-fold standard of morality which exists in our politics at the present time. How frequently do we hear of a man being called a man of great virtue in his private life, and yet being generally regarded by his fellow-men as an enemy to the established order of things political! How few of our bosses, so called, and properly so called, are really men of base personal lives! I can recall a number of active, influential politicians, who think nothing whatever of debauching the cities or states in which they live of valuable franchises and important contracts, using the offices of the city or state as if they were so much money with which to pay their personal debts, and yet not one word of scandal or suspicion attaches to their private lives!

How frequently the men of this type are the greatest sticklers for propriety and for orthodoxy. I remember how, in my own experience in the Pennsylvania Legislature in the session of 1899, a friend of mine introduced a bill which I was free to say I would support immediately after I had examined it. It was simply to give the Roman Catholic clergymen of the city the same right to visit prisoners in the Eastern Penitentiary that was possessed by the Protestant clergy. It seemed to me a perfectly proper thing that if the Catholic prisoners of the penitentiary wanted to have the spiritual advice of their clergy that they should have it, the same as the Protestant prisoners had. On the night the bill came up for final passage a man came to me who was perhaps the most notorious man in that Legislature. He was not only notorious because of his constant support of every nefarious scheme, but he was

likewise notorious as a man of bad personal character. And yet his sturdy orthodox Protestant soul revolted at the fact that there was a possibility of the prisoners in the Eastern Penitentiary being swayed toward the Catholic religion, and he came to me, and said, "For Heaven's sake, Woodruff, you are not going to vote for that bill to give Catholicism an entering wedge in our Eastern Penitentiary!" The man, I regret to say, was not at the time in such condition of mind and body as would entitle him to admission in polite society. Yet I believe from what he said on that occasion, and on subsequent occasions when the bill was under consideration, that he was seriously in earnest concerning that measure. He stood forth as the champion of orthodox Protestantism against all the machinations of the priests of another denomination and another church, and he was simply typical of many another man.

Then take the other phase. How many men, as I think it was Mr. Bonaparte pointed out the other night in his address, who perhaps are not what we should wish they were in their private lives, are nevertheless men of a keen public sense of honor; and I believe Mr. Bonaparte referred to Alexander Hamilton. As he was telling that story and pointing that moral, I recalled a story which is told of President Roosevelt.

It appears that the Collector of Customs at El Paso, Texas, under a previous administration, had made a very bad record. He seemed to have had no conception whatever of what his public duty was, or of what the public welfare demanded. He was simply in the office for all there was in it, and he regarded it literally as a "public snap." I understand that President McKinley was preparing to remove him, but his untimely taking off prevented the consummation of his plans. It remained for President Roosevelt to carry them out, which he did with great promptness and with great severity, I might say. He appointed as a collector of the port of El Paso a man whom he regarded in every possible way well fitted to collect the customs in that wilder part of our country. The President said, however, to some of his friends, that he expected that there would be very serious objections to the appointment of the candidate in question because it had come to his knowledge that on four or five occasions within the last three or four years, as a result of personal controversies with his opponents, he had killed four or five men. No word came to the President, however, objecting to the appointment upon that ground, but the President tells with great unction of how he has in his desk a protest against the appointment of this man, signed by 250 of the leading citizens of El Paso and vicinity, objecting to the appointment on the ground that the man was an agnostic and not orthodox in his religion. The man might be homicidal, but he must be orthodox.

Now, it seems to me, if we are going to have any great success in this movement for municipal righteousness, this movement for the incarnation of higher standards in our municipalities, we must do away with this two-fold standard, and we must, as a recent writer put it, make our politics an expression of our religion and morality; or, as another writer expressing precisely the same thought although in somewhat different form, said: "Our politics must be our religion in action." Too many men are ready and willing at

all times to condone things in public life which they would not tolerate for a single instant in their own private personal life. They fail to regard public interests and public measures and public welfare as a sacred trust. They look upon contracts, they look upon franchises, they look upon offices, they look upon government as a whole as a means for their advancement, for their aggrandizement, and, above all, as a means for the payment of their personal and political debts. We must do away with that. We must make people realize that this government is a very serious and a very sacred thing, and that, above all things, it is a trust which must be administered for the people in the highest spirit of regard for decency and for righteousness. And, when the time comes that this two-fold standard shall have passed away and that men will apply precisely the same standard to public as to private affairs, then the time will have come when many of the evils of which we now complain will have passed away, and when it will be regarded as a serious crime, whether punished under the statutes or not, to use an office for the payment of a political debt, as it is to rob a ward for one's own personal benefit; and if the National Municipal League succeeds in bringing about an appreciation of the necessity of this fact it will not have lived in vain. [Applause.]

MR. HEMENWAY: I now turn to Mr. Bonaparte, whose long service in the field of reform has taught him the truth of those words of old Stillingfleet, who Macaulay says was a consummate master of every weapon of controversy, that he who will not be reformed must find some term of reproach to fasten upon him who will go about to do it. His earnest, strenuous, intelligent and able service has won for him the respect and admiration of every lover of good government. [Applause.]

MR. BONAPARTE: When I was told by my friend, Mr. Woodruff, acting as the emissary in that respect of the Committee on Arrangements, that I should be expected to inflict my prose again upon a long-suffering, though somewhat limited, public, after several days of session of the National Municipal League, he, being minded, I suppose, to temper severity with a measure of mercy, also warned me, on behalf of the committee, that what I should say on this occasion must be funny and not serious.

I learned from Mr. Woodruff's speech—I was inclined to suspect it from the speech of our President—that this was a general injunction. Nevertheless, it is obvious that it was given and received, I will not say partly in a Pickwickian sense, but partly in a National Municipal League-ish sense, for, while there was no doubt much that was funny in what both of my predecessors said, it requires the acuteness of intellect which is cultivated by membership in the National League to perceive, as of course we all have perceived, that there was also nothing serious.

But, first of all, Mr. President, I must thank you for the very kind words in which you have presented me to this audience—words of which I can better than anyone else appreciate the excess beyond my deserts, but which, like all other praise from such a source, it is pleasant to receive, however moderate we may fear the infusion of truth is in the agreeable potion thus tendered.

And now, to endeavor to make myself funny, which is sometimes a much more serious and laborious task than is appreciated by those who allot it, let me say that in attending the sessions of this League to-day, and on previous days, I have been impressed again with what I have noted on many previous similar occasions—that we are all in the same boat. Let me make, of course, an exception of those who live in Boston. I refer to those who live in these desert places inhabited by wild beasts, which are outside of the known limits of the civilized city. But, with that exception, which certainly is a very important one (and even, perhaps in some slight measure, those living in the more fortunate regions depicted otherwise than as deserts on the map, may share, in a limited sense, in the experiences that I attribute to their less fortunate brethren), we are, all of us who live in great American cities, and even those who live in smaller communities, in rural communities, in America, suffering from the same evils and seeking the same remedies; or, at all events, seeking at the same time remedies which may cure ills the gravity of which is impressed upon all of us in the same way. And I am bound to say that I am able to discover no better instructor in the search for that remedy than the old pagan philosopher who, long before the days of electric lights, and even gas, went around with a lamp in the daytime, and, on being asked the reason for his pursuing that apparently eccentric course, replied, not that he had been told to do something funny and he didn't know of anything better to do, but that he was looking for a man. That is what municipal leaguers; that is what reformers of government of all kinds in our cities; reformers of government in all its branches, in this country and in every country that has a free and popular government, must look for, and, to succeed, must find. Unless you can find men—unless you can find that element in the government which is the human element, which is the thing that actually tells, no amount of mechanical contrivance, no amount of ingenuity in our legal or social or commercial arrangements, will fill the aching void.

I do not mean by this that laws and customs and rules of administration are without their value. They serve, to those who are endeavoring to protect our society from the evils of misgovernment, as fortifications and armament do for brave men in war. They aid us to do our duty, but they will never take the place of the men behind the guns. They will never enable those who know only how to run away when the time of trial comes, no amount of armament or fortification will ever enable such men to fill the part which they are expected to bear. And in like manner in our civil contests, although we may be aided by provisions against fraud, against violence, against the violation of laws intended to preserve the good order and good morals of the community, against all the abuses which have been noted by experience and against which sagacity and ingenuity seek to protect us, yet unless you have the men who are good for our purpose, the purpose of enforcing the laws and protecting us against the abuses of bad government, to fill our offices of trust and direct the administration of our public affairs, your laws, however ingeniously contrived, will work ill.

And now a word as to what I mean by saying men who are good for that

purpose. My friend President Eliot, in the few remarks with which he commented upon my brief speech at Sanders' Theater this afternoon, said that he did not think that I was altogether just in speaking of the men with whom the friends of good government had to contend as necessarily bad men; he thought they might be only men who showed their bad side to us.

Well, I am always ready to take the law from so good a source, but for practical purposes it comes to very nearly the same thing. The kind of men that we want to fill our offices may not be good men for other purposes but they must be good men for that purpose. When General Pictou at Waterloo ordered the charge in which he met his death, he is said to have addressed his command in the inspiring words: "Come on, you ——" something that I won't repeat — "drunken, plundering scoundrels!" I am afraid the designation was probably true, but nevertheless they came on. Now they were good men, not for all purposes, but for the purpose which they had then to fulfil. The men that will come on at the right moment and not hang back when you call to them to come, may deserve harsh words under other circumstances and for other purposes, but for that purpose they are good men. And the men who debauch the community, who evade and cheat the laws, who defraud you and disgrace the country, may have other virtues and for other purposes they may be good men showing a bad side, but they are very bad men for the purpose that is material at that time.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, seeing that I have evidently an incurable propensity to grow serious in view of the topic on which I was obliged to speak, and wishing above all things to inculcate by my example that great virtue of obedience to constituted authority which lies at the foundation of all civic virtue, and having received the orders that I stated that I should be funny or be nothing, I can obey them only now by thanking you for the kindness with which you have listened to my serious discourse. [Applause.]

MR. HEMENWAY: I met a Professor in a Western college a few summers ago, and I asked him, "What chair do you fill?" "Chair," said he, "why, I teach so many branches that I fill a settee." Not so in the University of Chicago, where they have a Professor of Sociology, a man who is at once a doctrinaire and a man of affairs. I take pleasure in introducing Professor Charles Zueblin. [Applause.]

PROFESSOR ZUEBLIN: There is always a certain embarrassment in the knowledge that one is going to be introduced from Chicago. There are many "buts" apparently in connection with Chicago. You may remember the story of the group of men who were gathered together telling each other of the merits and virtues of their respective cities — not after the fashion of the Municipal League — and one man pictured the glories of Boston, its learning and history and accomplishments, and another told of the greatness of the metropolis of the country, its beautiful seaport and its magnificent buildings and its great commerce, and another, coming from the other end of the country, recounted the merits of San Francisco and the Golden Gate. Then

a rather silent member of the group was urged to express himself, and he said, "Well, I'm from Chicago. Now laugh."

I take it that the purpose of permitting any one from Chicago to speak to-night is in order that you may hear what you have a right to expect, that the Chicagoans, and I think I may speak for my colleagues and comrades who also come from Western cities, come here to learn — to learn not merely from the National Municipal League from which we have learned so much, but to learn from Boston, the Boston which we see as well as the Boston which we should like to penetrate, but which seems as yet beyond our reach, the Boston which is a "state of mind." Indeed, we find rather conflicting testimony when we try to hunt for this Boston which is a state of mind, because we find other enthusiastic Bostonians telling us that Boston is a city with a radius of fifty miles, and then we wonder how that can be reconciled with this idea, and whether perhaps that state of mind is gradually encroaching upon the state of mind of the rest of the country, and we begin to fear that the residents of Brookline and Cambridge must be possessed of a certain dread lest this become very much more topographical and political than is generally comprehended in the phrase, "a state of mind."

There was an Englishman who came to the World's Fair and returned to the East by way of what is known, in the advertisements at least, as the "Picturesque B. & O." The picturesque B. & O. makes a detour about Chicago in order to escape from the city, of about twenty miles, which it takes some fifty or sixty minutes to pass over, and having got there, having run through an apparently interminable row of little cottages, the brakeman finally announces that the train has arrived in South Chicago, and all visitors are, of course, expected to be appalled at the great extent of the city. If you have ever taken that trip, you will remember that, after having ridden seven or eight hours in the northern part of Ohio, you reach Chicago Junction. This was too much for the Englishman. He wanted to know if he wasn't "out of that blasted town yet." Our only hope of salvation is that as this radius gradually extends it may touch even that radius not yet defined in the geography which bounds this wonderful "state of mind."

In truth, we find ourselves in a state of mind when we arrive in Boston. We are told according to good authority that if we would see the best people and become familiar with the institutions we should not penetrate at once into the confusing heart of the old business part of the city, but we should get off at the Back Bay station. Yet when we endeavor to get off there we find we have just passed Huntington Avenue and the train does not stop until it comes to the new South station. So we make up our minds that, at all events, on a subsequent occasion we shall become familiar with this great entrance to the real Boston, and on leaving the city we endeavor to get on at the Huntington Avenue station, and find we ought to have taken the train at the Trinity Place station, because, after all, there is not any Back Bay station on some of the roads entering and leaving Boston.

We have hardly penetrated the city before we are told that the old "three mounts" have passed away, and we have to accustom our broad Western

tongues to "Tremont" instead. We would like to ride on your transportation system, and trying to provide for the conductor in proper form we find that a "nickel" is not acceptable because one must pay "5 cents." We try your subway, and after we have learned to go in at the end doors, and leave at the side doors, and have found the various exits and entrances and the other confusing differences in connection with the Public Garden and the Common, we gradually despair of getting out of our own state of mind into anything like the state of mind which corresponds with the alleged Boston.

What do we really learn here after we have actually acquired the vocabulary and learned the dialect? Some of us after very much effort can say "Public G-a-r-r-r-den," and some of us even become familiar with a few of the ancient and delightful and historic laws of the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts. We find even if we want aerated water on Sunday that that is now under the ban, and that we shall have to leave the State if we want to satisfy what seems to us a perfectly normal and even temperate desire—coming from a city no more than eight-five miles distant from Milwaukee. And further, in penetrating to this wonderful state of mind here, we find that we can go beyond the statement of the distinguished President of the National Municipal League, who spoke of Boston as a "goodly city." We very soon become convinced it is more than that, it is a godly city, for we learn of those people who have been discovered by the Society for Psychical Research, I believe, who have been dissatisfied with the world beyond because of its failure to have a kinship to the Boston which they left behind. Perhaps by this avenue we can enter into the mysteries of the state of mind because this sentiment also prevails to a certain extent in Chicago. There was at least one Chicagoan who passed to that bourne beyond, who expressed dissatisfaction and said he didn't think that Heaven was such a remarkable place after all, and the man whom he accosted said, "Why, you are not in Heaven."

What really is the thing—and I think I can speak on behalf of all those of us who have come to Boston—what is the thing that chiefly we have learned? I might pay you endless compliments for the delightful features of your city, for the great accomplishments of your citizens, for the magnificent public spirit which we find here, for the air of culture which really after all exists in Boston, in spite of the comic papers; but the chief thing we find here, I believe, is the essential unity of American life in American cities, and that in the face of the invasion every year of your own city, and of our cities, of apparently innumerable foreigners. Indeed, I think the members of the National Municipal League and those who are working in kindred organizations for the betterment of American cities and American life are becoming convinced that we need not so much dread this ignorant foreigner as some of the rather better-educated members of our own Commonwealths. You may have heard of the two Irishmen who tried to come to New York together and make their home in this country, but one of them missed the boat and had to come by the next boat. So his friend went down to meet him. The man who first arrived got here the third of July and his friend came the next day, on the fourth, when of course he had a rather unusual reception. On getting off

the boat at Castle Garden he said to the first arrival, " Why, Pat, what is it all about ? What are they making all the noise for, and what are these things we hear shooting off, and what are the flags flying and the bands playing for ? " " Why, " said the previous arrival, " don't you know that this is the day when we's licked you's. "

I am not sure that we are all agreed that the assimilation of the immigrant is taking place so rapidly, nor that you would be willing to agree that you were ready to take us to your bosoms in any other than the hospitable sense that we confess to feeling you have in Boston, and while we find a certain difficulty, perhaps, of adaptation which we would not expect to overcome in twenty-four or forty-eight hours, yet, after all, we find this unity of American life is distinctly more striking, as well as it is more hopeful, than the diversity of American life.

And I believe I ought to say this in that connection—that as one travels, perhaps, more or less in one of these Western cities, and as he must first of all travel to one of these Western cities to take up his residence there, he sees that the diversity of American life is quite as useful as its unity. One would not wish to incorporate into Washington or Chicago the Metropolitan Park system of Boston. One congratulates Boston on the possession of the greatest of all the park systems of the world, and yet he wants his own park system. He wants to see the topography of the country developed in accordance with its natural principles ; he wants to see all the other local differences with as much local character as possible, and he also wants to see breathed into them these splendid principles for which the National Municipal League stands—this absence of corruption, the detestation of corruption, which we are glad to believe is characteristic of the government at present dominating in Boston.

I think we feel, as we pass through these various cities, that we are really acquiring that almost Utopian dream of the people of the past, diversity in unity ; that with all our individual differences, almost with zones of people growing up along the isothermal lines of our country, with the peculiarities of all our cities, North and South and East and West, that nevertheless they are all developing this common American spirit which seems to be alive now and then in national and in civic and in private life ; that yet through it all there runs the same desire that we shall lead the life which our ancestors dreamed of and for which they left their homes and perhaps laid down their lives, and that while we are not asked yet to lay down our lives, we are asked to lay down a great many old traditions and fancies and differences and prejudices, that we really may unite in this better American life which is coming through the efforts of these people who are wise enough to look out beyond their own borders, to get over their provincialism, to see the good not only in their own people, but in other people, that we may learn to a certainty that we shall get a unity in our American life of which we can to-day only dream. [Applause.]

MR. HEMENWAY: Professor Zueblin's delightful speech has evoked a reminiscence of two friends meeting in Boston. One inquired : " Where is your

brother?" The answer was, "In Chicago, trying to make an honest living." "Will he succeed?" "He ought to; there is no competition."

Among the delegates to your conference is Prof. Edward S. Morse, of Salem, a man whose wit and wisdom make him *persona grata* everywhere.

PROF. MORSE: This courteous and delightful introduction reminds me of a story that Mr. Schwab told at the Worcester Board of Trade dinner recently, and also after having been given a delightful introduction. He said it was most pleasing to him, but nevertheless he recalled an incident of only a few days before. Driving down to his home from the station with a faithful negro boy by his side he overheard a woman say, "There, child, there goes Mr. Schwab in the carriage." "Which one, mamma?" was the response.

They tell the story of the old lady from the West, from one of the older states in the West, coming to Boston for the first time by way of one of these outlying country roads, and reading as she journeyed along the mile-posts—one mile from Boston, two miles from Boston, and so on. Then she came to a stone which read "1 M. from Boston," and she mistook it for a gravestone and read it, "I'm from Boston," and she had no criticism to make on it. She thought how pathetic; no name, no date. "I'm from Boston;" that was sufficient.

It is always insisted that public affairs should be conducted with the same honesty and integrity as one's private affairs. It strikes me if we analyze the character of a city we shall find it a congeries of homes, coming together and by communal effort deriving many rights and privileges that the isolated country house does not have unless it is a family of great wealth. A family of great wealth in the country may have good water, fine grounds, private watchmen, may have a private instructor for the children, may have a library, and in these respects possesses features of city life as represented in a public library, road commissioner, park system, fire department and so on. But aside from that you can imagine the misery one would have getting through heavy snowdrifts in the country down to the village, and you will see the contrast between the isolated country life and the city life, with its museums and theatres and fine streets and so on. In other words, one need hardly wonder at this drift city-ward of the country people when they realize the comforts that they get here.

Now then, a city is a congeries of houses and what do we demand in our homes? We demand certainly pure air, clean water, and a decent and respectful behavior within. A family man of any decency insists upon various places for the activities and the economies of the house to be carried on in. He has a reception-room, sitting-room, dining-room and so on. He has, in other words, his residential quarter in that house, and he has his business quarter, perhaps in his private library with the desk where he works, and he has a certain place in his house for the rougher activities. No matter how poor the person may be, he may have only three rooms, he may eat in the kitchen, he may have one room with a chromo and a carpet, but the rougher activities are carried on down cellar or in the back yard.

Now it seems to me the city in the same way should insist upon its residential quarters being protected from the invasion of manufacturers, that there should be manufacturing and business and residential quarters. I can show you in my good old town of Salem real estate that would have paid enormous tax money to the city had it been realized, as it could have been realized, that here was the only portion of Salem that could extend toward the pastures and be maintained in a park-like condition. Yet we have introduced there a tannery, a glue manufactory and manufactories of all kinds, and ten or a dozen whistles blowing from morning till night. What do we demand in our houses? Quiet. A person takes off his rough boots and puts on his slippers and he no longer slams the door. We are getting so nervous now that we insist upon quiet, and we cannot in any way get at our best in this state unless we suppress the infernal absurdity of factory whistles. Factory whistles in the morning, at noon, an hour after, and so on, and they are not signals for beginning or ending work at all. You stand in front of one of these factories and hear the screeching whistle. It may be a corset factory employing two men and a girl, and the whistle waking up invalids in the next county. It makes no difference. You will find work does not begin when the whistle blows; not at all. Only when you see the wheels and machinery going, and the belts moving—and that is only when the engineer has started the machinery—do the workmen turn to their work. They are all there; and there is no one who has had any experience in a large manufactory but realizes how promptly the workman has some premonition of 12 o'clock some five or ten minutes before the time comes. It requires no whistle. Formerly our hotels had their guests waked up by a gong, a barbarous instrument of torture which was sounded through every corridor. To-day through a carpeted corridor the servant comes and taps at your door or the electric signal wakes you alone. To-day in a good hotel, many of them holding the population of a large village, everything is carried on with the greatest quietness and people can rest. How long would a hotel hold its existence if it fired off a 13-inch gun at seven o'clock, another one at twelve, another at one and another at six?

I find it utterly impossible to produce any impression on people here in regard to the wearing, tearing nuisance and bedlam of steam whistles. Formerly it was sufficient to ring a bell at a railroad crossing. "Look out for the engine when the bell rings!" Now these things are done all through our community. Newton, Medford and Malden and a number of other towns in the State have stopped it, but in Salem beginning at half past five they go on, interrupting every thing, interrupting funeral services in church, and it would seem that people are absolutely callous with regard to the suffering in hospitals. They are driving people out of town into the country because they must get rest and quiet. People go every summer into the country for mosquitoes and bad beds and poor coffee, to escape the infernal turmoil and racket of the city.

Now we know very well that there are cities, not in the East but in the West, that have realized the importance of suppressing this noise, and in Detroit not the sound of a whistle can be heard. In Cleveland all whistles are

stopped within certain limits, with a penalty attached. Carlisle, Pennsylvania, has the same rule, and in those cities any one can rest. The city merchant is holding the people that otherwise would spend their money abroad. If these boards of trade would protest against the factories within their precincts making so much noise they would hold hundreds who now go to England or Canada or Maine, but who might be buying meat—no, not meat, I hope not—but vegetables, in their own town.

So it seems to me that we should look first at the reforms you are trying to bring about, and then when we get decent, honest men may they appreciate the comforts of others as well as their own, that ultimately we may be abreast of those thriving cities in the West in making life endurable in the city. [Applause.]

MR. HEMINGWAY. He who in the whirl of business does not forget the duty which every man owes to his citizenship is entitled to honorable recognition. Such a man is Mr. John F. Moors, and I take pleasure in introducing him to you.

MR. MOORS: The same early Christian injunction which was laid upon the more distinguished speakers this evening was laid upon me, that I should not be serious, and I hoped as I heard it that hereafter we might believe in the agreeable doctrine of salvation by good dinners. Unfortunately in my very brief experience in speaking I never know whether I am serious or not, because when I try to be the audience always laugh and when I have tried not to be they have been very sober. It seems to me we have had a very pleasant time to-night listening to the wrong-doing of persons who are not present. I hope I may not too seriously and also not too unkindly analyze for just one brief moment our own virtues. One day I happened to stroll into Berkley Temple because I heard a loud noise. The loud noise was made by an orator speaking to a whole church full of women. He was speaking against the evils of intemperance, and as I listened I said to myself that not one those good ladies had probably ever been drunk. In the same way we talk about evils which are outside and we give very little heed to those things which we ourselves do.

Most of the people from Boston who are in this room—most of the men, at least—have belonged to two organizations, one our local Municipal League and the other the Public School Association, both organizations devoted to improving our municipal affairs. Nobody else in the room knows it, but I know that I am the Secretary of our local Municipal League, and I am Secretary in spite of the fact that years ago I resigned. My resignation has never been accepted because we could never get a quorum present to pass upon the matter. The other organization began with the energy of two frail women and one young man, the two women so delicate that they had to drive about their business in a carriage, while the young man had to walk because he was too poor to take part in that more expensive luxury, and to-day we control the Boston School Board.

Almost everyone here, as I say, has been in those two organizations, and what is the difference? The difference is that the Municipal League, though it did not try salvation by good dinners, did try salvation by fine words and carping at the evil-doing of other people. The Public School Association won out because persistently, year after year, it kept at its own business of doing something constructively good. Within the last few days we have all seen in this city an example of the difference between good constructive municipal government and fairly good municipal government, and it seems to me that it behooves us as educated people, as people who would not tolerate wrong in the government, to give some heed to these matters. Our good Mayor has recently made a good appointment, and most of us have acknowledged that appointment without a murmur of dissent. But he made this appointment in place of a first-class man, working for five years at his work and giving half his time to it without pay. We have had no conception of what that other man has been doing, and while we object to the evil-doing of the wicked politician, we do not say to ourselves, what is our own duty in this matter and how are we to impress our better ideas upon the common cause?

In the same way, as I say, the Public School Association has control to-day of the Boston School Board, has elected sixteen out of the twenty-four members; but what are we doing about it? What do we know about the excellent work which those men who have been elected are doing? What are we doing to assist them, to back them up, to point out to them that the thing that they are doing is important? I meet from time to time the wives of some of these men, and I ask where Robert or Jim is. "Well, he is at work for the Boston School Board." How much do we others follow this work? In speaking the other night to the wife of one of these men, I said: "Your husband must feel that he is not alone in this thing—that people do back him up." "Well," she said, "who backs him up?" And I said: "I have just got a letter from a lady in Rome; she backs him up."

Gentlemen, that is all I have to say. It seems to me that we should not be like the gentleman who was speaking of intemperance to a lot of very temperate ladies, addressing ourselves exclusively to the wickedness of other people. I read with interest in the morning paper the speech by our honored President yesterday, in which he spoke of the fact that the National Municipal League was organized because of the extreme corruption in the cities of this country, but I say that as long as we confine ourselves only to that doctrine we shall not get ahead, because there is no hope in that doctrine. You cannot simply offset evil with nothing; you must construct good. You must have hope in the future and you must build up something constantly better, and then let the evil take care of itself. [Applause.]

MR. HEMENWAY: Dr. Johnson, having finished his dictionary, wrote:

"I look with pleasure on my book, however defective, and deliver it to the world with a spirit of a man that has endeavored well."

The National Municipal League dedicates its work to all lovers of good government, inspired by these words of Emerson:

"We think we are near the zenith of our civilization, but as yet we are only at the cock-crowing and the morning star."

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September 1, 1902.

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